TAMIL CIVILIZATION

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TAMIL MYSTICISM

K.Satchidanandamoorthy

In the Tamil-speaking areas from the middle of the sixth century the bhakti movement arose and continued vigorously till almost the end of the ninth century A.D. The leaders of the stream which centred around Viṣṇu were Āḻvārs and of the other which centred around Śiva were Nāyaṉārs. The first three Āḻvārs and the first Nāyaṉār may be assigned to about A.D.550. Nammāḻvār, the greatest, and his disciple the last Āḻvār belonged to the end of the eigth or the first half of the ninth century. The last Nāyaṉār was Sundaramūrtti of the later half of the seventh century. A century after him came Māṇikka-vāsakar, whose work also found a place in the Śaiva canon. The Vaiṣṇava canon received its definite shape in the ninth century; while the Śaiva one although compiled first in the tenth century went on receiving additions till about the middle of the twelfth century.[1] Among these Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints were Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Śūdras, women and pariahs, including hunters and untouchables. Some of them were scholars, some unlettered; some were rulers, ministers, preceptors or friends of kings; others peasants, artisants, labourers and nomads; and atleast one was a mleccha (Kaḷḷar) and a dacoit before conversion. All their compositions were in Tamil. It is clear that to some extent, but not primarily or wholly, revolutionary opposition to the established order took the shape of Tamil mysticism, and positive material class interests inspired the bhakti movement. This is true in the case of all the bhaktas, yogis and tantrics of the middle ages, as it is in the case of the rsis and sramanas of ancient times.

The faith of these Tamil mystics as well as those of the Marāṭha saints devoted to Viṭhoba (Viṭṭhal) of Pandhārpūr was a unique personal monotheism and image mysticism. They all believed that God is one, transcendent (para) and immanent (antaryami), the supreme Divine Person, the omniscient, omnipotent, just and compassionate maker and ruler of the universe and lord of all beings. Nevertheless he actually abides in all his glory and power in the images at Tirumala, Chidambaram, Pandharpur and other places. Śrī Veṅkateśvara at Tirumala and Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, who can be perceived by us, are not the symbols of Viṣṇu or Śiva, but actually God himself; so were the avatāras Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. In each case (e.g. in the Naṭarāja image at Chidambaram, as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vāsudeva, husband of Rukmiṇi and friend of Arjuna, and as the indweller in every being) God is present really, fully

and perfectly. The incarnation-form, the image-form and the indweller-form is as much God as the transcendent form in Vaikuṇṭha or Kailāsa. Some images (or lingas in the case of Siva) are self-born, while others were installed according to sacred rites by holy men, and in both God himself is fully present. They are not just representations of him. So concrete worship and service of these permanent incarnations (sāsvata avatāras) or adorable forms (arcarūpās) is as valuable as meditation (dhyāna) and sacrifice (yajña).[2] 'May I eternally serve the Lord at Tirumala' - was the ardent wish of the greatest of Āḻvārs, Nammāḻvār. 'At Tillai (-Chidambaram) dwells the First of all--and those who cleave for ever to his foot, no cleaving sin will grieve'--so sang one of the three greatest Nāyaṉāras, Ñāṉasambandar. Similarly, even for one of the four chief Maratha saints, Tukkārām, who declared that he abided in the Formless One and had his home in the Stainless One, the Inconceivable, God was really present as viṭṭhal, who, according to this bhakta, was 'our life, our ancestral God, treasure and spirit; -- the embodiment of our love; -- we have none but Him'. All these true bhaktas were aware of divine transcendence as well as divine omnipresence, and yet were convinced that just as the Supreme Person incarnated Himself as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa at particular places and times, He permanently abides as Veṅkaṭeśvara, Naṭarāja, etc., at different places to be concretely accessible to His faithful devotees.

An extraordinary thing we find in the Āḻvārs is their identifying themselves with and imitating the persons associated with Kṛṣṇa's life, e.g. the maidens of Bṛndāvan who madly loved him, Rādha, his beloved, Yaśoda, his foster mother, his boyhood friends, the cowherds, or his devotees like Draupadī and Vidura. They patterned their lives after those of the persons who were the lovers, parents, friends or devotees of God in human form. Earlier than this we do not find elsewhere a spiritual discipline of this sort. It received its full expression again the life of Caitanya (1486-1533) and its theoretical development in the literature of his school.

The woman saint Āṇḍāḻ's *Tiruppāvai* and *Tirumoḻi* and Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* are great classics of bridal mysticism. Māṇikka-vāsagar's *Tiruvāsagam (Sacred Utterance)* is an outpouring of love for Śiva from a soul who fears him, clings to him, is 'filled in every limb with love's mad longing', because it was shown his beauty and was made his. Messages of love are sent to Śiva at Chidambaram through the king of bees and the cuckoo in his orchard. Another work *Tirukkōvai*, an erotic poem marked by devotional intensity and having as its main theme the soul's love for God, may also be most probably his. If *Tiruvāsagam* does not melt the heart of a man, so goes a common Tamil saying, nothing else can melt it. It is one of the most outstanding records of spiritual experience of the highest order.

The theology of the āḻvārs contains many novel doctrines such as the following. God loves man naturally, intensely and boundlessly; he is ready to help all who surrender to him completely and will bestow salvation of them whether they deserve or not. His grace is spontaneous and uncaused, and the only source of liberation; so all people will be emancipated in due course. Those

who have completely surrendered themselves to God need not follow the varnāsrama system (the order of caste and station in life) and need not perform any ritual or scriptural duty; they are avidhigocara (not within the ken of the obligations). Indeed surrender to God (prapatti) involves giving up varnasrama dharma. Liberation of souls is in the interest of God, as they are his servants, and as liberation is the restoration of their servitude to him. After totally relying on him there is nothing further a man has to do, for he will do the rest. Such a man need not expiate his sins, for God's grace will remove them. Irrespective of race, caste, education or social status, a bhakta is superior to everyone else, and is to be adored. All bhaktas are equal. Worship and love of adorable forms (arcarūpās) is the best type of spiritual activity. God is to be worshipped with joy and love. Sincerity, affection for suffering humanity, the feeling that all are one's own kin (atmiyata) and the translation of this into friendliness to all, including those who are crooked and inimical--these are the behavioural traits of a true devotee. With many of these ideas the nāyaṉārs are in agreement.[3]

Except the *Svetasvatāra Upaniṣad*, the *Bhagavad Gīta*, and some portions of the *Mahābhārata*, nothing in Sanskrit concerning bhakti can be said to be definitely earlier than the hymns of the alvars and the nāyaṉārs. Bhakti was born in Tamil country. 'Utpanna dravide', says the *Padma Purāṇa, Uttara Khāṇḍa*: Bhakti dravidupji, so runs a Hindi couplet. J. Filliozat showed to this to be historically correct.[4]

According to the *Śivadharmottara*, *āgamas* or siddhāntas were written in Sanskrit, Prakrits and desa-bhasas. Inscriptions of the seventh century refer to Śaiva Siddhānta. S.N.Dasgupta and T.P.Minakshisundaran have written that Śaṅkara in his Brahmasūtra Bhāsya refers to Siddhāntas, the followers of which were Īśvara-karanins, i.e. those who maintained that God is the instrumental cause of the world.[5] In his commentary on that bhasya Vacaspati (ninth century) mentions Karunikasiddhāntins as one of the sects among Maheśvaras. They are Śaiva siddhāntins who maintain the doctrine of divine compassion. It is out of compassion that God concealing himself from the souls repeatedly creates, sustains and dissolves the world to provide them an opportunity to experience and get the desires appropriate to their karmas, and to give them rest periodically, so that they are finally purified by their actions and devotions, when he reveals himself and liberates them through his grace. All that God, Lord of souls (Pasupati), does is out of boundless compassion (karuṇa) for them, for he is not only existence and consciousness, but also grace. The souls get liberated from bondage through knowledge of God obtained through God's grace. In the union of soul and God, resulting in supreme bliss, non-difference, a union-in-separateness (advaita), between the two is realized.[6]

Tirumandiram by Tirumūlar (ninth century) is the earliest work which contains some elements of Śaiva Siddhānta, which received its definitive formulation in *Śivañānabōdam* of Meykaṇḍar, a Veḷḷāla (a śūdra caste) of the thirteenth century. His disciple Aruḷanandi wrote *Śivañānasittiyār*, a learned commentary on it, which is the great classic of this school. The *Periya Purāṇam* by Sekkiḷār, a Veḷḷāla of the twelfth

century, containing the lives of the nayanars, is considered to be a great classic in Tamil and the fifth Veda, and is included in the canon. It has deeply influenced the religious life of Śaivas throughout South India. Umāpati Śivācārya (c.1290-1320) wrote eight treatises (śāstras) on Śaiva Siddhānta. Depending on his works, later Bhandara Śāstras were produced in which were described stages of spiritual experience culminating in the vision of God (Śivadarṣana), communion with him (Śivayoga) and enjoyment of him (Śivabhoga).

Tirumūlar considered every man, in whom God dwells, is a mobile temple and so service of man is divine service. As God is one, mankind is one family; all men are brothers, he maintained. Worship of God should lead to seeing him everywhere, said Mevkaṇdar. According to a great nāyaṉār Appar, a Veḷḷāla who was a contemporary of the Pallava King Mahēndravarma I (reign 580-630), God is the essense of dharma rooted in daya (compassion). For another nayanar Sundaramūrtti, domestic life is spiritual communion in the service of God and man. He sang about a divine democracy based on universal love and service. Aruḷanandi declared: 'They have no love for God who have no love for all mankind'. The message of *Periya Purāṉam*, which so much inspired Ramaṇa Maharshi, is that constant unselfish service of human beings should be the ideal of life, as it leads to salvation.

G.U.Pope, who translated Mānikka-Vāsagar's great work, and was a pioneering western scholar of Śaiva Siddhānta, considered this system to be 'the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India'. On the literature of this school Sir Charles Eliot commented: 'In no literature with which I am acquainted has the individual religious life--its struggles and dejections, its hope and fears, its confidence and its triumph--received a delineation more frank and more profound'. 'No cult in the world', L.D. Barnett concluded, 'has produced a richer devotional literature, or one more instinct with brilliance of imagination, fervour of feeling and grace of expression'. A more recent scholar R.C. Zaehner was in his last years more or less equally enthusiastic about this school of Tamil theism.

TAMIL COSMOPOLITANISM

From where did some of these Bhakti saints get the concept of human equality and brotherhood? One answer could be from their own religious consciousness. Their firm-faith in and experience of One God might have logically led them to the conclusion that as all are his servants or children (as their hymns assert), all are fraternally equal; and that therefore caste is a myth. Another answer is that they derived this from their ancient Tamil tradition. In *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, a poetic anthology of the Śaṅgam age (the first three or four centuries A.D.), there is this poem (no. 192) of Kaṇiaṉ Pooṅguṉṟaṉār: 'All places are similar to me; all are my kith and kin. Suffering and freedom from it are of similar nature; death is not something new. Life is neither all sweetness and joy, nor all misery. The plight of our precious soul tossed in the torrent of fate is like that of a raft in the middle of a mighty river in floods, rushing along knocking against rocks and boulders. Having learnt this truth from the teachings

of great scholars, I do not either esteem the highly placed or despise the lowly'. Here for the first time in Indian literature we find a clear assertion of the equality of all people and lands. No race, nation or class is superior to others and no country town or village is sacred; life is neither wholly joyous, nor miserable. The Śaṅgam literature idealized love and glorified domestic life based on it. The ideal of such a life ought to be to work for others and attain perfection. The *Tolkāppiyam*, a grammatical work of the same age, mentions only three ends of man; dharma, artha and kama. The Śaṅgam literature held that to lead dharmic life for the sake of heaven is to commercialize the former, while the right thing is to do so for the sake of perfection. To be perfect is to be wise, cultured, loving and socially beneficial. To be eminent is to successfully perform one's duty, overcoming all difficulties. A Śaṅgam poet Māṅkuti Marutaṉār advised rulers to realize the impermanence of things and value peace and usefulness to others as much as fame and grandeur. It was perhaps from this Tamil humanism of the Śaṅgam age as much as from their spiritual experience that the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva bhaktas got their conception of equality and human brotherhood.

KURAL ETHICS

I must not fail to mention the justly famous *Kuṟaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar (A.D. 450-550), which presents an integrated philosophy of life. Tiruvaḷḷuvar was probably either a Jaina or a secular humanist. He too mentions only three ends for man, but includes under dharma the path going by which one does not return to the world, which consists in renouncing the feeling of 'I' and 'mine' and developing universal love. Lauding domestic life based on love, he exhorts extension of the latter by stages, to include first one's spouse and children, then others in the family, then neighbours and so on till it becomes almost universal. Finally, one must be ready to help whosoever needs it, irrespective of relationship or any other consideration. Real fame consists in achieving something permanent, which will make one in a way eternal even after death. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, while dealing with politics, emphasizes that both ends and means must be always ethical. Like Nāgārjuna, he also does not advocate apadharma (the dharma of expediency) under any circumstances. No one, he thinks, is destined to be poor, because individual effort along with social change can make everyone prosperous and happy.

NOTES

1. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, 3rd edn., Madras, 1966.

2. 'Introduction' to Tiruppāṇālvār's *Amalanādipirda*, Telugu trans. by A.Srinivasacharyulu, Tirupati. 1979.

3. J.S.M.Hooper, *Hymns of the Āḻvārs*, Heritage of India Series, Oxford; S.N.Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol.iii, chapter 17; K.C.Varadachari, *Alvars of South India*, Bombay 1966. F.Kingsbury and G.E.Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Śaivaite Saints*, Heritage of India Series, Oxford, 1921; Dasgupta, ibid, chapters 34 and 38.

4. *Indological Studies*, American

Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn, 1962. pp.70-7.

5. C.P.Shukla and K.P.Sastri, published by Achyutgranthamala, Kasi, Samvat 1992, part 2. Mahesvarastu . . . pasupatirisvaro nimittakaranamiti varnayanti. (pp.1302-3).

6. V.A.Devasenapathi, *Śaiva Siddhānta*, Madras, 1960; M.Dhavamony, *Love of God, According to Śaiva Siddhānta*, Oxford, 1971.

Tamil Civilization
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POLITICAL CONCEPT OF TAMIL NĀṬU - A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

S. Nagarajan

The aim of this paper is two fold: (a) to discover the historical periods during which the whole of Tamilnatu remained as a single, stable and separate political unit (b) and to find out the periods during which it was an integral part of India.

The word Tamiḻakam was used even in the ancient period by the Tamils. The earliest reference to Tamiḻakam is in Puṟanāṉūṟu.

வரைப்பில் தமிழகம் கேட்ப [1]

(பிட்டங் கொற்றனைக் கருவூர் கதப்பிள்ளை சாத்தனார் பாடிய 168 ஆம் பாடல்)

Likewise Ilaṅkō also refers to Tamiḻakam இமிழ்கடல் வரைப்பின் தமிழகம் [2]

(காட்சிக் காதை அடி : 37)

This country was described as Tamiḻakam because the people of this country spoke the same language namely Tamil. This can be inferred from the middle Caṅkam grammar work Tolkāppiyam, which says

வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி யாயிடைத்
தமிழ்கூறும் நல்லுலகத்து [3]

(தொல்காப்பியம்-பனம்பரனார் பாயிரப் பகுதி)

Thus Tolkāppiyam says that Tamil language was spoken from Venkata hill in the north to Cape comorin in the south. Cikaṇṭiyār also says

வேங்கடங் குமரி தீம்புனற் பௌவமென்
றின்னான் கெல்லை தமிழது வழக்கே

Ilaṅkō Aṭikaḷ also makes a similar observation

குமரி வேங்கடங் குணகுட கடலா
மண்டிணி மருங்கினிற் றண்டமிழ் வரைப்பில்

Thus according to them during the olden days Tamiḻakam's boundaries were Vēṅkaṭa hills in the north, Kumari river in the south and on surrounded by the seas on the east and the west.

It was believed during the ancient period in the southern boundary of Tamiḻakam there was Kumari river and Pacṟuḷi river (பஃறுளியாறு) And in this part of the land existed 49 Nāṭus (Districts) namely ēḻteṅka nāṭu (ஏழ்தெங்க நாடு) ēḻmaturai nāṭu (ஏழ்மதுரை நாடு) ēḻmuṉpālai nāṭu (ஏழ்முன்பாலை நாடு) ēḻpiṉpālai nāṭu (ஏழ்பின் பாலை நாடு) ēḻkuṉṟa nāṭu (ஏழ்குன்ற நாடு) ēḻkuṇakarai nāṭu (ஏழ்குணகரை நாடு) ēḻkuṟumpaṉai nāṭu (ஏழ்குறும்பனை நாடு) These were subsequently swallowed by the sea.[4] Cilappatikāram says

நெடியோன் குன்றமும் தொடியோள்
பௌவமும்
தமிழ்வரம் பறுத்த தண்புனல் நாடு.

And these Tamil speaking parts of Tamiḻakam from Vēṅkaṭam to

Kumari were further divided into Centamil̲ nāṭu (செந்தமிழ் நாடு) (Sweet and pure Tamil spoken parts) and Koṭuntamil̲ nāṭu (கொடுந்தமிழ் நாடு) not sweet and not pure Tamil spoken parts. According to Tolkāppiyam commentators there were one Centamil̲ nāṭu and 12 Koṭuntamil̲ nāḍus. They say செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்தும்

தங்குறிப் பினவே திசைச் சொற்கிளவி

and these two Koṭuntamil̲ parts were.

தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங்கற்கா வேண்புழி
பன்றியருவா அதன் வடக்கு - நன்றாய
சீத மலாடு புனனாடு செந்தமிழ்சேர்
ஏதமில் பன்னிரு நாட் டெண் [5]
(யாப்பருங்கலம் பழைய உரை. நன். மயிலை.275)

Instead of mentioning about Puṇal nāṭu and Veṇāṭu as mentioned in this *veṇpā* (above quoted song) Naccinārkkiṉiyar, Cēṉāvaraiyar, Iḷampūraṇa Aṭikal refer to Potuṅkar nāṭu(பொதுங்கர் நாடு) and Oḷi nāṭu (ஒளி நாடு)

Centamil̲ nāṭu's boundary, according to Tolkāppiyam's commentator Gunasagarar consisted of areas lying north of Vaikai south of Maruta river and the areas lying east of Karuvoor and west of Maruvoor.

முன்னுறுந்தென் பாண்டி முதற் புனனா டீறான
பன்னிரண்டு நாடுமப் பானாடே - அந்நாட்டுள்
வையை கருவை மரு தாறு மருவூர் நடுவே
ஐயநீவாழு மரண்மனையோ
— (தமிழ்விடு தூது)

Nannul virutti's commentator considers Pāṇṭiya nāṭu alone as Centamil̲ nāṭu.

சந்தனப் பொதியச் செந்தமிழ் முனியுஞ்
சௌந்தர பாண்டிய னெனுந்தமிழ்
சங்கப் புலவருந் தழைத்தினி தோங்கு
மங்கலப் பாண்டி வளநா டென்ப

Likewise religious teachers and Tamil poets considered Pāṇṭiya nāṭu as Centamil̲ nāṭu. Villiputtorar says:

சென்னிநாடு குடகொங்கநாடு திறை கொண்டு
தென்னனுறை
செந்தமிழ்க்-கன்னிநாடு உறவுடன் புகுந்து ..

But this does not mean that the dialect of the Pāṇṭiya country is superior to the dialect of the other twelve districts as it is usually understood to mean for one dialect is just as good or as bad as another, but that the literary dialect was first fashioned in the Pāṇṭiya country and when this dialect was adopted for poetry or other tracts they allowed local words to find a place therein.

This ancient Tamil Natu, which had a definite territorial limit and where Tamil was spoken, was under a single political authority only rarely. It appears the first Cēra king Utayan Cēralāton brought the entire Tamil country under his sway. Likewise, it appears, Karikala Cōla as ruled over the entire Tamil̲akam. But these opinions are based only on literary sources and hence lack corroborative evidence.

The Tamil kings too traced their origin to the same Tamil mother. The story goes the Cēras, Cōl̲as and Pāṇṭiyas were born to the same mother and lived together in Korkai, their capital lying on the banks of Tamiraparani. But after some time they parted, the Pāṇṭiyas stayed behind, and the other two went in western and northern direction.[6]

Hence so far as political authority was concerned the Tamil kings did not think in terms of a common political boundary or a common political authority but divided Tamil̲akam itself into definite politico territorial limits within Tamil̲nāṭu itself. Thus from the political angle Tamil̲akam was divided into Toṇṭai

nāṭu, Cōḻa nāṭu, Cēra nāṭu, Pāṇṭiya nāṭu, Koṅku nāṭu and several other principalities and each one had definite territorial limits.

Toṇṭai nāṭu (தொண்டை நாடு) was ruled by Tirayar (திரையர்) kings. Its western boundary was sea, southern boundary Pennai river and its total area twenty *kātam* (காதம்).

மேற்குப் பவள மலை வேங்கடம் நேர் வடக்காம்
ஆர்க்கும் உவரி அணி கிழக்குப் - பார்க்குளுயர்
தெற்குப் பினாகி திகழிருபதின் காதம்
நற்றொண்டை நாடெனவே நாட்டு

— (கம்பர் தனிப்பாடல்)

Cōla kingdom spread from north of Tillai upto Vellaru in the southern most parts of Tanjore district. Thus the Cōla kingdom comprised Tanjore district, Tiruchirappalli district and southern part of South Arcot. An old *venpa* says

கடல் கிழக்கு தெற்குக் கரைபெரு வெள்ளாறு
குடதிசையிற் கோட்டைக் கரையாம் - வடதிசையில்
ஏணாட்டுப் பெண்ணை இருபத்து நாற்காதஞ்
சோணாட்டுக் கெல்லையெனச் சொல்

- (கம்பர் தனிப்பாடல்)

In other words Cōla country's eastern boundary was sea, southern boundary was Vellaru, western boundary was Kottaikarai, northern boundary was Pennai river and the total area was 24 *kātam* (காதம்).

Caṅka Kāla Pāṇṭiya nāṭu comprised Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli districts and Nāñcil nāṭu. An old *venpa* says

வெள்ளா றதுவடக்காம் மேற்குப் பெருவழியாம்
தெள்ளாற் புனற்கன்னி தெற்காகும் - உள்ளார
ஆண்ட கடல்கிழக்காம் ஐம்பத்தாறு காதம்
பாண்டி நாட்டெல்லைப் பதி

(கம்பர் தனிப்பாடல்)

Pāṇṭiya nāṭu's northern boundary was Vellaru, western boundary was Peruvali (பெருவழி), southern boundary Kumari and eastern boundary sea; total area 56 *kātam* (காதம்).

Koṅku nāṭu comprised Salem, Coimbatore, Nilagiri districts many chieftains ruled over petty principalities in this part of Tamiḻakam. Sometimes Koṅku nāṭu came under the rule of the Cēras too. During such periods Koṅku nāṭu's Karuvur functioned as capital.

Today's Kerala State could be described as Cēra nāṭu. During those days Cēra nāṭu comprised Venāṭu (வேணாடு) Kuṭṭa nāṭu (குட்டநாடு), Kuṭa nāṭu (குடநாடு), Pooḻi nāṭu (பூழி நாடு) Kaṟka nāṭu (கற்கா நாடு)

An old *venpa* says

வடக்குத்திசை பழநி வான்கீழ் தென்காசி
குடக்குத் திசைகோழிக் கோடாம்-கடற்கரையின்
ஓரமே தெற்காகும் உள்ளெண் பதின்காதம்
சேரநாட் டெல்லையெனச் செப்பு

— (கம்பர் தனிப்பாடல்)

In other words Cēra nāṭu's northern boundary was Paḻani (பழனி), eastern boundary Tenkasi, western boundary Calicut, southern boundary sea, total area 80 *kātam* (காதம்).

Besides these kingdoms there were also a number of principalities ruled over by petty war chieftains. Tolkāppiyam's commentator Cēnāvaraiyar mentions 12 political divisions south Pāṇṭi, Kuṭṭam kuṭam, Kaṟka, Veṇ Pooḻi, Pantri, Aruva, Aruvai North, Sitta nāṭu, Malai nāṭu, and Puṉal nāṭu.[7] Vincent Smith says in all there were 120 independent chieftains of petty principalities.[8] Tirukovalur and surrounding areas in Toṇṭai nāṭu known as Malayamā nāṭu were ruled by Malayamāns; Veṅkata hills and surrounding areas were ruled by

a robber chief Pulli; Tindivanam and surrounding areas known as Ōyma nāṭu (ஓய்மாநாடு) were ruled by Nalliyakotan, Paḻani hills in Pāṇṭiya natu was ruled by Pakan; Pari was ruling over Parambu nāṭu in Pāṇṭiya country, and Āyvēl ஆய்வேள் was lording over Pothiamalai are in Pāṇṭiya nāṭu.

In fact the ancient Tamilnāṭu was popularly described as "மூவேந்தர் நாடு" (Three kings land). Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai (திருவள்ளுவ மாலை-10) says:

மும்மலையும் முந்நாடும் முந்நதியும் முப்பதியும்
மும்முரசும் முத்தமிழும் முக்கொடியும்-மும்மாவும்
தாமுடைய மன்னர் தடமுடிமேற் றாரன்றோ
பாமுறைதேர் வள்ளுவர்முப் பால்.
(திருவள்ளுவ மாலை-10)

Thus usually குடபுலம் (Kuṭapulam) i.e., west was under the Cēras, குண புலம் (Kuṇapulam) i.e., east was under the Cōlas and தென்புலம் (Teṉpulam) i.e., south was under the Pāṇṭiyas. However these traditional territorial boundaries fluctuated according to changing political fortunes. For example, at its zenith the Cēra empire comprised Vēnāṭu, Ōdenāṭu, Kuṭṭanāṭu, Pulināṭu, Poraināṭu, and Konkunāṭu i.e., all the coastal districts from Cape Kumari in the south to Kasarkod in the north and inland districts of Wyned, Palghat, Coimbatore, Salem and Tiruchirappalli, Kollimalai with Palani as the most favoured dependant. Across the seas it included Laccadives.

The normal political behavioural pattern of the Tamils was to use war as a common means to amass territories and to build one's power. The ancient Tamil poets often said "To oppose one another and to gain victory over the other is a normal worldly behaviour. It happens everywhere and is not new to this world".[9]

In others words the Tamil Political philosophy could be described as 'Matsyanyaya' i.e., big fish swallowing the smaller ones.

Still the Tamils were not always fighting and there were moments when they peacefully coexisted. Like Jawaharlal Nehru in modern days (Panchasheel 1954), Poets like Avvaiyar advised the Tamil Kings to practise the philosophy of peaceful coexistence in inter-state relations. For example Cēran Marivenko (மாரி வெண்கோ) Pāṇṭyan kanappereyil Katanta Ukkirap Peruvaḻuti (கானப் பேரெயில் கடந்த உக்கிரப் பெருவழுதி) and Cōḻan irācacuyam vēṭṭa perunarkiḷḷi (சோழன் இராசசூயம் வேட்ட பெருநற்கிள்ளி) were having peaceful and comradely relations with one another. On seeing their peaceful relations Avvaiyar said "If you three unite together and rule the world, you will bring joy and happiness to this world. Even if one of you antagonise and part with the other, it would result in destruction. Hence like now remain always single minded and united and rule the world".[10] Avvaiyar said[11]

முத்திப் புரையக் காண்தக இருந்த
கொற்ற வெண்குடைக் கொடித்தேர் வேந்திர்
யான்அறி அளவையோ இதுவே : வானத்து
வயங்கித் தோன்றும் மீனினும், இம்மெனப்
பரந்தியங்கு மாமழை உறையினும்
உயர்ந்து மேற்றோன்றிப் பொலிகநும் நாளே.
– (ஔவையார் பாடிய 367 ஆம் பாடல்)

Similar ideas about peaceful coexistence among the Tamil Rulers also expressed by Kāveripoompaṭṭinaṭṭu karikaṇṇānar (காரிக்கண்ணனார்) when he talked about Cōḻa Kurappaḷḷi Tuñciya Peruntirumāvaḻavan (சோழன் குராப்பள்ளி துஞ்சிய பெருந்திருமா வளவன்) and Pāṇṭiyan Vaḷḷiyampalaṭṭu Tuñciya Peruvaḻuti பாண்டியன் வெள்ளியம்பலத்து துஞ்சிய பெருவழுதி)

இன்றே போல்கநும் புணர்ச்சி (58, 28)

There were also a few Tamil kings who were prepared to renounce their kingdom if somebody were willing to acknowledge them as superiors. For example Cēran Nalaṅkilli said, "In order to take my kingdom, if my enemy comes to me with obedience and begs me to give my kingdom then I will give him not only my kingdom but even my life".[12]

Ancient Tamilakam: Summing up

1. Ever during the ancient period the Tamils described their country as Tamilakam as indicated by classics like Puranāṉūṟu.

2. Relating to this Tamilakam, the Tamils had their definition of the territorial limits of Tamilakam. Hence the Tamils had a territorial concept of Tamilakam.

3. However, as indicated by Tolkāppiyam and other works the meaning of the unity of Tamilakam was derived from the common Tamil language spoken in all the parts considered as Tamilakam.

4. From this it can be derived that the Tamils had a common Tamil cultural consciousness and hence had a common cultural concept of Tamilakam.

5. It is also instructive to note that the Tamil language was divided into Centamil and Koṭuntamil and many believed that Centamil was mainly spoken in Pāṇṭiya nāṭu.

6. The very fact that Pāṇṭiya nāṭu was mentioned relating to Centamil clearly point out that Tamilnāṭu was also divided politically. So the Tamils did not have a common political will and commonly shared political attitudes. This opinion is confirmed by other works which define the political boundaries of the various Tamil kingdoms. Uniform political behavioural pattern during war or peace is possible only if a common political symbol has roots in the emotions of the entire people. Ancient Tamilakam did not have such a common sentimental political symbol. On the otherhand war among Tamil kings was normal. This kind of Tamil political behaviour was not peculiar to Tamilakam, it was the common political pattern during the ancient period throughout India. Thus the ancient Tamils political behaviour was conditioned by the time in which they lived.

7. Eventhough there was no commonly accepted single political authority, except under Utayan Cēralaton and Karikala Cōla and war was legitimised as a normal behaviour, still the Tamils were not unaware of the philosophy of peaceful coexistence, and the concept of political unity in inter-state relations. Poets like Avvaiyar advised the rulers to practise peaceful coexistence and political unity principle.

Cōlas: Medieval Period

From the beginning of the 7th century A.D. upto the 10th century A.D. Tamilnāṭu was the scene of the contest for supremacy between the Pallavās and Pāṇṭiyas, and their contest for supremacy over Kāveri continued always. In fact the southern part of the Pallavā Kingdom was always bone of contention between the Pāṇṭiyas and the Pallavās.[13] It concluded with the revival of

Cola power under Vijayalaya and his successors and may be said to close with the attack delivered at the heart of the Pāṇṭiyan empire by Parantaka-I, the grandson of Vijayalaya, who began his rule in the 10th century A.D.

Regarding the extension of the Cōḻa empire Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says that it "embraced the whole of South India and extended east to west from sea to sea, while its sway bounded on the north by an irregular line from somewhere near Mangalore along the Tuṅkapatra and the Venki frontier. The principal conquests of Cōlas took place in the interval between the accession of Cuntara Cōḻa and that of Rajentra I and mainly in the reign of great Raja Raja".[14]

The Cōḻas, it must be admitted, built a Cōḻa empire and not merely a Tamil nation, they were the first known Tamils, to rule over the entire Tamilnāṭu as well as over Dravita nāṭu. They laid the foundations of Dravita nāṭu consciousness and not Tamilnātu political consciousness. In fact, they concentrated only on erecting Cōḻa political consciousness. And their political philosophy was imperialism much more than romantic Tamil nationalism, which of course was not understandable in the context of the evolution of the political culture during the middle ages

The Cōlas political style was to cholify the conquered areas. They employed brain washing techniques by imposing Cōḻa names on the prostrate areas. The following are some examples to illustrate the policy of cholification. Raja Raja I by 1001 A.D. after occupying Sucintram, Kottar, Nakercoil and Kanyakumari organised the territories as Raja Raja teṉṉāṭu.[15] Sucintram was renamed as Cuntara Cōḻa Caturveti mankalam, Vicincam as Rajentra Cola Pattanam and Kottar as Rajentrā Mummuṭi Cōḻanallūr by Rajentra I.[16] Pāṇṭiya nāṭu was named as Raja Raja maṇṭalam. In 1021 A.D. the entire Pāṇṭimaṇṭalam was divided into 4 Vaḷanātus having the names of Cōla Kings. These were (1) Rajentra Cōḻa Vaḷanāṭu; (2) Maturanātaka Vaḷanāṭu; (3) Muṭikoṇṭa Cōḻa Vaḷanāṭu and (4) Uttama-Cōḻa Vaḷanatu.[17] Even today we can come across some Cōḻa names in the ancient Pāṇṭiya nāṭu. For example, near Madurai there is a place known as Cōla Vantān and near Tirunelveli KaṅKaikoṇṭan. Prof. K.V.Raman says: "the names of the street, temple and its parts, the village, the nāṭu, the maṇṭalam all underwent a change overnight, the moment the Cōḻas occupied Pāṇṭiyatesā".[18] Koṅkunāṭu was named as Atirājarāja Maṇṭalam and Toṇṭaināṭu as Jayamkoṇṭa Cōḻamaṇṭalam. The feudatories too were cholified. For example both the Koṅkāḷvas and Coṅkāḷvās of Coorg and Mysore respectively were given Cōḻa prenomens. The ruler of a hilly tract in the modern South Arcot district was named as Uttama Cōḻa Milāṭuṭaiyār and seven years later as kaṅkaikoṇṭa Cōḻa Milāṭuṭaiyār.[19]

The Cōḻas however did not destroy Tamil cultural unity. They did not destroy the Hindu temples in the conquered areas of Tamilnāṭu. On the other hand they built Hindu temples and patronised Tamil language. Thus cholification of Tamil country, which was political in character, took place within the framework of a common Tamil cultural consciousness. Infact the common Tamil cultural tradition was also enriched by the Cōlas.

The Cōlas therefore cholified the areas conquered, but inspite of that they did not rule over a separate Tamilnāṭu alone or over a politically stable Tamilnāṭu. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says: "almost everyone of the kings who reigned between Rajentra I KaṅKaikoṇṭa and Rajentra II alias Kulōttuṅka I claims to have conquered the Pāṇṭiya country and some add also an attack on Utakai in the Kerala country to the list of their achievements".[20] Hence the Pāṇṭiyas were a source of constant challenge to the Cōlas, even though upto the period of Kulōttuṅka I (1071-1122 A.D.), they were the satellites of the Cōla empire.

From Kulottuṅka I the political conplexion of the Cōla empire underwent some changes relating to the Pāṇṭiyas. Firstly the Pāṇṭiyas were freed from the Cōla-Pāṇṭiya viceroys. Secondly there were indications that they had probably become semi autonomous. From Kulōttuṅka period, says Prof. K.V.Raman, even we come across some inscriptions of the Pāṇṭiyas in parts of Tirunelveli and Ramanatapuram districts.[21] which to a certain extent strengthen the view that they were probably independent or semi-autonomous and hence it is not surprising to note that in the beginning of the 13th century the Pāṇṭiyas overthrew the Cōla imperial power and became independent.

The Pāṇṭiyas not only asserted their independence but also probably for around 60 years ruled over the whole of Tamilnāṭu from 1252 to 1312 A.D. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says Jatavarman Cuntara Pāṇṭiya, who came to the throne in 1251 A.D. ruled over whole of South India upto Nellore and Cuttapah.[22] He ruled over the entire Tamil Country and beyond from Nellore to Kanyakumari. His successor Maravarman Kulasekara (1268-1312 A.D.) conquered Malinatu, Sōnāṭu, Koṅku, Ilam and Tonṭai manṭalam.[23]

Hence it can be stated with caution that the Pāṇṭiyas of this period were the first to rule over the entire Tamilnāṭu alone because the Cōlas ruled over the Dravita nāṭu of South India. Still the Panṭiya rule over Tamilnāṭu entire was short lived and they too did not rule over a politically stable Tamilnāṭu. Moreover they too. it appears, did not foster a single unified Tamil political solidarity awareness because they attempted the Pāṇṭiyanisation of the conquered Tamil country. Prof. K.V.Raman says "..... after the Pāṇṭiyas regained control, they again changed all the Cōla names, gave them their own names. Thus we begin to have Vikrama Panṭiya Valanāṭu (around Landiwash in South Arcot 134 of 1956-57) Varakuna - Valanāṭu (119 of 1910) etc. Pāṇṭiya Kulasini Valanāṭu was changed into Pāṇṭiya - Kulapati - Valanāṭu. An inscription of Jatavarman Sri. Vallapa mentions (ACC. A.D. 1120-22) this reverse trend.

Stone dam	- Parakrama Pāṇṭiyan Kallanai
Channel	- Vira Pāṇṭiyan Kal
River	- Sri Vallapa Peraru

But it must be said that the Pāṇṭiyas were less fanatical than the Cōlas in this race for renaming the places".[24] However, it can be inferred the Pāṇṭiyas too would have shown the same zeal like the Cōlas in Pāṇṭiyanising had they ruled for a longer period in Tamilnāṭu.

The Pāṇṭiyas and the Colas

hatred for each other could be seen from the titles which they assumed after victory over each other. For example, Atitya Cola's title *'Vira Pantiyan Talai Konta Kō - Parakēcari*, Cuntara Cōla's (957-73) titles like *Madurai Konta Rajakēcari, Pāntianai Curamirakkina Perumāl Sri Cuntara Cōla Tēvar*, Cōla Kulōttunka III's (1188-89) title *Pāntiyanai Mutitalai Kontaruliya*[25] and the Pāntiyan Kings titles such as *Cōlan talaikonta Vira Pāntiyan* (946-966 A.D.), *cōnātu Konta* and *cōntakonta-mutikonta-colpurattuvirar* (Māravarman Cuntara I (A.C.C. A.D 1215); *Emmantalamum Kontaruliya Cuntara Pāntiya Tēvar* (Jatavarman Cuntara ACC. A.D. 1252)[26] etc. Confirm their mutual animosity and hatred. Only the Tamil kings hatred each other during war. But we have no evidence to prove that the people of Tamilnātu belonging to different political regions hated each other during war or peace.

The Pāntiyas too like the the Cōlas inspite of the mutual hatred patronised the growth of Tamil language and Common Hindu Temple traditions. They did not destroy, but improved the Hindu temples in the conquered areas. Hence their Pāntiyanisation zeal, which was political in character took place within the framework of a common Tamil Cultural consciousness and unity.

Inspite of this it must be admitted there was no growth of common Tamil political consciousness but only of either Cōla or Pāntiya political consciousness and the Pāntiyan political face lingered in the southern parts of Pāntiyanātu till as late as the 17th century. With the development of Malayalam, the Cēras of Kerala parted away from the Tamils around the 12th century.

The political obscurity of the Cōlas and the Pāntiyas as well as the parting of the Cēras from the main Tamil cultural stream exposed Tamilnātu to alien forces almost from the third decades of the 14th century.

Even though the shadows of Vijayanakar began to fall on Tamilnātu as early as 1370 when Kumara Kumpana captured Madurai, still according to Prof. N.Subramanian, the whole of Tamilnātu came under firm Vijayanakar rule only sometimes in the 30's of the 16th century and got out it in the 30's of the 18th century.[27] In fact Vijayanakar was the first non-Tamil State to rule over the whole Tamilnātu. Like the Cōlas, it also encouraged the growth of the concept of Dravitanātu, by ruling over most of the parts of Dravitanātu; eventhough it was the first non-Tamil South Indian State to rule like that. In contrast to the Cōlas who nurtured Dravitian Cōla consciousness, especially, within the framework of positive Hindu concepts, the Vijayanakar empire employed anti-Muslim Dravitian or South Indian Hindu consciousness to conquer and consolidate its empire.

Vijayanakar's hold over Tamilnātu was not firm always. Under Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659) Madurai became virtually independent: By 1649 Tanjore and Gingee accepted the Muslim suzerainty of Deccan. In 1658 the Dutch captured Tuticorin. In 1673 Marata rule was established in Tanjore. Under the Regency of Mankammāl (1689-1706) the Nayaks accepted subordination under the Moghal emperor, which led to the ultimate absorption of the Nāyak Kingdom in the Mughal empire.[28] Almost from 1605, according to Dr. Katirvel, the Cētupatis ceased

to pay tribute to the Nāyaks and obtained gradual autonomy between 1605 and 1656. And during Rāni Maṅkammāḷ's period they were practically free from the Nāyaks of Madura and did not have tributary status.[29] Hence Vijayanakar's firm rule over the whole of Tamilnāṭu could be said to have lasted probably for around 80 years.

Before discussing the further developments of the political fortunes of Tamilnāṭu in the post Vijayanakar period, an attempt is made to mirror the Tamils' political image of India from the ancient period because especially from the beginning of the 18th century the twin themes of Tamil political unity and Tamilnāṭu as a part of Indian empire run together in unison.

In Tamil language, since the ancient period, there is no separate Tamil name for India. The Tamils had only Tamil names like Kumari Kaṇṭam, Kumari Tīvu, Kumari nāṭu, Nāvala Tīvu and Campu Tīvu. Kandaiya Pillai observes: "formerly India did not have the present geographical make up. The Indian Ocean situated south of Kaṉyakumari was once a large land area. That time this land area extended from Burma to South China in the east, embraced south coastlines of Africa in the west and extended upto Vintya in the north. The western geographers named it as Lemuria. The ancient Tamils described it as Kumari Kaṇṭam. After the destruction of Kumari Kaṇṭam, South Indian land boundary embraced Lanka, Cumatra and Jāva, which together constituted as a big island. Since a lot of Jampu fruit trees were found in this island it was described as Nāvala Tivu or Campu Tīvu. It was also called as Kumari Tīvu or Kumari nāṭu and its northern boundary was the Vintya mountain. And during that time the Himalayan mountains and the Indus Ganges plains were non existent"[30] Prof. N.Subramanian says: "Nāvalan tīvu of the Tamil is only a translation of jamputvipa and it is a mythological area and has no geographical connotation. Bharata varca, which is really India has no name in Caṅkam Tamil".[31] Hence Tamils had only separate Tamils names for the united world and not for India.

It was the ancient Tamils and not the north Indians who were the first to claim success in their empire building ventures in Northern India. It is stated that Imayavarampaṉ Neṭuñcēralatan defeated the Āryans and went upto the Himalayas.[32] Cilappaṭikāram mentions Karikala went upto Himalayas and Vajram, magata and Aventi were paying tributes to him.[33] Caṅkam classics likewise mention about Vampa Moriyas invasion upto Coimbatore and Tinnelvelly, but it does not say that the Tamil States were paying tributes to them. Hence, it can be safely said, that the Tamils were the first to claim that they ruled upto Himalayas, eventhough we don't have corroborative evidence to confirm it. Whereas till the time of Muhammet piṉ Tukḷak the North Indian Kings did not rule over whole of Tamilnāṭu.

Tiruvallaṅkātu plates, Kaliṅkatu Parani and Mūvarula reveal that the Cōḷas described themselves as belonging to cūryakula and kasyapa kōtrā and claimed family kinship with kasyapa, Āṭṭiri, Tilipa, Aricantrā, Musukuntan, Kakuntan, Bakiratan, Tasarata and Rama.[34] This indicates the all India Hindu consciousness of the Cōḷas.

It is rather surprising that inspite of Tamil's awareness of India upto

Himalayas as well as all India Hindu cultural unity consciousness the Tamils did not coin a Tamil name for India even during this period or later.

The first time when the whole of Tamilnāṭu became a part of Delhi-based Indian empire was during the time of Muhammed-piṉ-tukḷak. However this was only for around a period of ten years since 1323 after which the independent Madura Sultanate came into being.[35]

The second time when the whole of Tamilnāṭu came under Delhi-based Indian empire rule was during the last days of Auraṅkzep towards the close of the 17th century. As a result the Nawap of Arcot was established. The Arcot Nawap had two provinces, one Arcot which extended upto Nellore and the other Tiruchi which extended upto Cape Comorin. He was called Faujtar and appointed as a subordinate to the Subetar of Deccan, a major agent of the Mukal emperor.[36]

However in reality, the Nawap of Arcot was not in actual control of the whole of Tamilnāṭu. The 18th century Tamilnāṭu could be described as a confederation of anarchies because it became the stage on which the Madura Nāyaks, the Maṟava kings of Ramnad and Sivakanka, the Polikars of Tinnelvelly, Madura, Dintigul area, the Maraṭṭas, the Mysoreans, the Nawap of Arcot, the British, French and the Dutch were competing with their rivals for political independence or political supremacy. In fact the Nawap of Arcot became the tool of the European powers, especialy of the British. For example, Prof. Rajayyan says that even after the Mukal's capture of Trichinopoly in 1736 'Madura still continued to remain independent".[37] Dr. Kaṭirvel observes Kilavan Cētupati of Ramnad became an independent king in 1702; around 1730 Sivakankai had independent existence and only in 1772 both these States came under the control of the Nawap of Arcot. The Polikars of Tinnevelly, Madura and Dintigul regions were indifferent and insubordinate and the British waged wars with the Polikars since 1780. In fact only since 1784 the Nawap had nominal suzerainty over Madura and Tinnelvelly.[38] It is also stated that before 1799 to the south of Kaveri serious Government was non-existent. In addition Pondicherry, except between 1761 and 1765, 1778 and 1785, 1793 and 1814 when it was in the hands of the English, remained as a French territory. Further Karaikal was taken by the French in 1738. Hence the whole of Tamilnāṭu was not really under the Delhi-based Indian empire.

The third time when Tamilnāṭu came under the sovereignty of an Indian empire was during the British period which lasted in Tamilnāṭu for 147 years. In 1802 the British established Madras Presidency, which comprised Tamilnāṭu, Malabar, Andra Pradesh and South Canara. Hence the British too did not establish a separate Tamilnāṭu unit but only a composite Dravitanāṭu unit. States like Travancore-Cochin which embraced some Tamil territories and Pudukkottai were under British paramountcy and hence in theory not directly ruled by the British. Since 1814, Pondicherry was in the hands of the French. Therefore, the British too did not rule over entire Tamilnāṭu.

Rulers Who Ruled Tamilnāṭu from the Ancient Period to India's Independence (1947) - (next page) .....

From the ancient period to the end of Caṅkam period (up to 3rd century B.C.)	Cēras, Cōlas, Pāṇṭiya rulers, kaṭai Ēḻu Vaḷḷalkaḷ (கடை ஏழு வள்ளல்கள்) Nañcil Vaḷḷuvaṉ, Āayveḷar (ஆய்வேளர்) of Tiraiyar (திரையர்) Ancient (Prakrita) Pallavās.
From the end of Caṅkam period to approximately 600 A.D.	Kalaphirās, Sanskrit Plates Pallavās (சமஸ் கிருதப் பட்டயப் பல்லவர்கள்)
Approximately from 600 A.D. to 9th century A.D.	Later Pallavās, Pāṇṭiya rulers, Muttarāyar, Tanjore Cōlas (Rise of Pallavās)
From 10th Century A.D. to 13th century A.D.	Tanjore Cōlas, Pāṇṭiyās, Cōḷa-Pāṇṭiyas, Hoysalas, Katavarāyar.
14th, 15th and first half of the 16th Century A.D.	Hoysalas, Pāṇṭiyās; From 1323 to 1333 under Muhammet Piṉ Tukḷak, Madurai Sultāns, Toṇṭaimaṇṭala Campavarāyars, Teṉkāsi Pāṇṭiya rulers, Vijayanakar rulers.
From the first half of the 16th century to the first half of the 18th century A.D.	Madurai, Tanjore, Ceñji Nāyak rulers, Tanjore Maraṭṭa rulers, Mukals.
From the first half of the 18th century to the end of 18th century	Arcot Nawaps, Pālayakārars.
1801 to 1858	British East India Company
1858-1947	British Crown. (1912-1937 Dyarchy, 1937-39, 1946-47 Provincial autonomy) (Pondicherry under the French up to 1954).

(Source: Kaṇdasamy:6)

During India's freedom struggle against the British till 1921, political organisations in Tamilnāṭu did not have the name of Tamilnāṭu in their organisation names. They had only names like Madras Native Association founded in 1852, Madras Mahājaṇa Sapā founded in 1884, South India Liberal Federation or Justice party founded in 1916, Madras Presidency Association, Self-respect party etc. Newspapers and journals too followed this trend. They had only names like The Hindu, Madras Mail, Swatēsimitraṉ, Dēsapakṭaṉ, Justice, Dravitiaṉ, Andhra Prakāsikā. Kuṭiyarasu, Dravitanāṭu etc. V.O.Chidamparam Pillai named his steamship company as 'Swatēshi Steam Navigation Company'. Prof. Rajayyan says the Dravi-

tian trend in writings could be seen in the works of C.V.Damodaran Pillai Mayuram Vedanayagam Pillai, T.P.Meenakshi Sundaram, Maraimalai Adikal and U.V.Swaminatha Iyer.

In modern days probably one of the first to use the name of Tamilnāṭu in the title of his work was Somasundara Bharati who in 1912 published 'Tamil classics and Tamilakam'. Bharati too published his famous poem *'Centamil nāṭu Enum Pōtinila'* The first political organisation to use Tamilnāṭu in its name was the Congress Party unit in Tamilnāṭu which in 1921 was named as Tamilnāṭu Congress Committee. Even this change in name could be described as partly the result of the coming of a new Andhra Congress Circle on 22 January 1918.[40]

Hence the Central Political themes in Tamilnāṭu were India's freedom and Dravitanāṭu. The Dravitian consciousness ultimately manifested in the form of Dravita Kalakam founded in 1944. The Dravita Kalakam gave a racial interpretation to the words Dravitian and the Tamil by describing the Brahmins of Dravitanāṭu as alien Āryans. Whereas the Tamilnāṭu Congress party did not give such a racial interpretation. The racial interpretation given by E.V.R. was modified by the D.M.K. party founded after independence which condemned only Brahmanism and not Brahmins and hence stood midways between E.V.R.'s concept and the Congress concept.

Inspite of the attachment to Dravitanāṭu, the Tamil regional parties began to concentrate mainly on Tamilnāṭu especially from 1950's onwards. The Tamil romanticism was also channelised through Tamil films like Parasakthi. This kind of exuberance was not only the offspring of Tamil romanticism but also a reaction to the defeat to the concept of Dravitanāṭu. In fact as early as 1904 Karnataka movement was started and around 1913-14 the Andhra movement had begun with vigour. Hence the concept of Dravitanāṭu was outmoded in 1944, when Dravita Kalakam was founded and in early 1950's formidable challenge to this idea lead to the fragmentation of the Madras Presidency.

Hence the separatist tendencies among the Dravitians ultimately resulted in the formation of a separate Tamilnāṭu in 1956. This trend was anticipated as early as April 1947 when the Madras Legislature recommended the formation of linguistic States like Tamilnāṭu, Karnataka, Andhra and Kerala. In 1947 also ten Tamil members of the Constituent Assembly met the Prime Minister to ask for a purely Tamil State.[41]

M.P.Sivagnana Gramani established Tamil Arasu Kalakam on 21, November, 1946. He was the first Tamilian to mobilise Tamils and conducted a non-violent struggle for the delimitation of Tamilnāṭu's northern and southern boundaries. His non-violent struggle relating to the delimitation of northern boundaries continued for nearly 6 years from 16 August 1947 to 4 July 1953. He again organised a non-violent struggle for this purpose in October 1956. Likewise he organised a similar struggle for the delimitation of Tamilnāṭu's southern boundaries in 1953-54 period.[42]

According to M.P.Śivagnana Gramani Tirupati, Tirukalatti, Cittoor, Tiruttani, Pallavaneri, Kankuntikuppum, which were parts of Cittor District should constitute as the

northern boundary of Tamilnāṭu. He admitted that on the basis of Tamil language only, Tirupathi should not be claimed and in Tirupati, Kalatti, Pallavaneri and Kankuntikuppum Tamils were not in a majority. And only in Cittoor, Putur and Tiruttani Tamils were in a majority. Still he gave five reasons in support of his claim of the non-majority Taluks as parts of Tamilnāṭu (1) The people who lived in all these Taluks were neither pure Andhras nor pure Tamils. A majority of them could be described as bilingual speaking both Tamil and Telugu. (2) Their families had closer contacts with their relatives in Tamilnāṭu than with their relatives in Andhra Pradesh. (3) Tirupati hills formed as a natural boundary line between Tamilnāṭu and Andhra Pradesh and our literary evidence also support this claim (4) Dhar Commission recommended that a hill or a river should form as a boundary between two States divided on the basis of languages., and much importance should not be given to language differences (5) The lawyers whom M.P.Sivagnana Gramani approached in this connection at Cittoor told him that Cittoor is far away from Hyderabad (500 miles) but nearer to Madras State (90 miles) and hence it should always be considered as a part of Madras State.[43]

M.P.Sivagnana Gramani claimed 9 Taluks in Travancore-Cochin as the southern boundaries of Tamilnāṭu. These Taluks claimed by him were Coccin, Cittoor, Tevikulam, Pirmetu, Cenkkottai, Neyyatinkarai, Vilvankotu, Kalkulam, Akattiswaram and Tovalai.[44]

In 1956 Kanyakumari District became a part of Tamilnāṭu and Kalkulam, Vilvankotu, Akattiswaram, Tovalai and Cenkottai Taluks were given to Tamilnāṭu and constituted also as the southern boundary States of Tamilnāṭu. However Pirmetu and Devikulam where 78 percent of the Tamils lived, the southern part of Neyyatinkarai, western half Cenkottai, claimed by Tamil Arasu Kaḻakam were handed over to Kerala.[45]

Relating to the delimitation of northern boundary Tamilnāṭu was given the whole of Tiruttani except a village, 30 villages in Cittoor Taluk and one village in Puttur Taluk. Thus a total of 322 villages were taken from Andhra Pradesh and given to Tamilnāṭu. Therefore a total of 2,39,502 people belonging to this area were transferred from Andhra Pradesh to Tamilnāṭu. But some villages including Arani river were taken from Tiruvallur and Ponneri taluks of Chingleput District and were given to Andhra Pradesh. And Tamilnāṭu got also Vallimalai, Tiruvalankadu and Tiruttani. In Osur Taluk Telugus constituted 38.4% Kannada speaking people 31.5% and Tamils 22.4%. But since none of these languages were spoken by 50% of the people and since Osur did not have a common land boundary with Andhra Pradesh it was given to Tamilnāṭu. All these northern boundary States legally became a part of Tamilnāṭu only from 1 April 1960. But the ancient territorial concept of Venkatam was modified and Tamilnāṭu's northern boundary was fixed near Lake Pulicat to the north of the city of Madras and south of Nellore and it passed through a point between Tirupati in the north and Tiruttani in the South.[46]

Up to 1961 Tamilnāṭu was only known as Madras State. M.P.Sivagnana Gramani organised a non-violent

struggle in January 1961 to change this name into Tamilnāṭu. As a result in February 1961 the then ruling party Congress announced that from now onwards Madras State will be called as Tamilnāṭu in Tamil language. However the Congress Government clarified that there was no need to change the name Madras State in English as described in the Indian constitution. And therefore while corresponding with those outside the State of Tamilnāṭu the name 'Madras State' would be continued to be used.[47]

After C.N.Annadurai became the Chief Minister of Tamilnāṭu, in 1968 C.Rajagopalachari advised Annadurai to change the name Madras State in English into Tamil Nāṭ. But M.P.Sivagnana Gramani advised Annadurai to name it as 'Thamilnāṭu'. But Annadurai believed that the north Indians may not be able to pronounce the name suggested by M.P.Sivagnana Gramani and preferred the spelling suggested by Rajagopalachari. M.P.Sivagnana Gramani persisted and finally a compromise was arrived at. As a result of this Annadurai decided to use NATU as suggested by M.P.Sivagnana Gramani and not as NAT as advised by Rajakopalacari. From this time onwards Madras State in English was called as Tamil Nāṭu.[48]

Still Pondicherry, inspite of its common Tamil political culture with Tamilnāṭu because of the dominance of the Tamil regional parties in this Union territory, is not a part of Tamilnāṭu. Hence even today the whole of Tamilnāṭu is not a single separate political region.

The following conclusions may be arrived at.

1. The whole of Tamilnāṭu had never remained as a separate, unified stable political unit except probably for around 50 years in the second half of the 13th century under the Pāṇṭiyās. Under the Cōḻas and the Vijayanakar it was not a separate exclusive unified nation, but a part of a Dravitian or South Indian empire. Even today the whole of Tamilnāṭu is not a single region because Pondicherry is a separate Union Territory.

2. The Cōḻas and the Pāṇṭiyas when they ruled over the entire Tamilnāṭu did not attempt to disturb the cultural unity of the Tamils. They did not destroy but improved the Hindu temples and Tamil language in the conquered areas of Tamilnāṭu. Thus a common Tamil cultural tradition was enriched by them but a common Tamil political unity consciousness was not fostered because of their cholification or Pāṇṭiyanisation political consciousness. This remained as a barrier for developing a common Tamil historical political tradition till the recent period, inspite of the development of a common Tamil cultural self-awareness and unity from time immemmorial.

3. Before independence the dominant political themes among the Tamils in Tamilnāṭu were Swatesi or India's freedom and Dravitanāṭu. Hence, it can be stated that Tamil regionalism, emotionalism and romanticism were primarily the gift of the united D.M.K. (Dravita Munnētra Kaḻakam), A.I. A.D.M.K. (All India Aṇṇa Dravita Munnētra Kaḻakam) party since 1950's. For example these parties with romantic pride named the bus stransport system as Pāṇṭiyaṉ, Cōḻan, Cēran, Pallavan (Kaṭṭapommaṉ) roadways and thereby

introduced the modern concepts of Tamil unity and harmony within the tradition of ancient Tamil diversity. However, it must be clarified, the first political party which strengthened Tamil solidarity was the Congress party by accepting also the Tamil Brahmins as Tamilians.

4. The first Tamil party to name its organisation with romantic Tamil regional feelings was the Tamil Arasu Kaḻakam, founded after independence by M.P.Sivagnana Gramani.

5. The whole of Tamilnāṭu became a stable and integral part of India only since November, 1954, after the liberation of Pondicherry from the French. On earlier three occasions Tamilnāṭu's integration with India was either shortlived (Muhammed Tukḷak's period) or nominal, but unreal (during the 18th century) or under two different alien sovereign political authorities (the British Indian Tamilnāṭu and the French Pondicherry).

NOTES

1. Piṭṭaṅk Koṟṟakai Karuvoor Katapillai Cāṭṭanaar Pāṭiya 168th Pāṭal.
2. Kāṭchi Kāṭai Ati:37
3. Tolkāppiyam, Panamparanar Pāyira Pakuti
4. Cilambu, Venir; p 197, N.M.V. Nattar Urai.
5. Yāpparuṅkaḷam Palaiya Urai Mer Nan Mayilai 275 Mer.
6. Ramachandran, C. E., *Caṅkakāla-Varalāru*, 90.
7. Chellam, V. T., *A Short Survey of the History of Tamilnāṭu*, 18.
8. Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, 439.
9. Ramachandran, C. E., *op. cit.*, 85.
10. *Ibid* 75.
11. Avvaiyar Pāṭiya 367th Pāṭal.
12. Ramachandran 104.
13. Ganapathi, A. *A Concise History of Tamilnāṭu upto 1565.* Chellam V.T., *op.cit.*, 53.
14. Nilakanda Sastri, K.A. *The Colas*, 448.
15. Krishna Ayyar, K.V. *A Short History of Kerala*, 50.
16. *Ibid*, 51.
17. Raman K.V. *Some Aspects of Pāṇṭiyan History in the Light of Recent Discoveries* 18, 40. See also for more cholification measures, 41. See also Subbarayalu S. "Some reflections on the territorial units in Pāṇṭimaṇṭalam". Paper read in Pāṇṭiyan Seminar, 1971.
18. Raman, K.V. *Op.cit.*, 41.
19. Nilakanda Sastri, K.A. The Pāṇṭian Kingdom 226, 227, 465.
20. *Ibid*, 150.

21. Raman, K.V. op. cit., 21.

22. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, 29, 32.

23. Raman, K.V. *op.cit.*, 29, 32.

24. *Ibid*, 41-42.

25. For example see Tirunavukarasu, K. T. *Mutalām Rājarāja Cōḻan.*

26. For example see Raman, K.V. *op.cit.*, 27-29.

27. Subramanian, N. *History of Tamilnāṭu* (A.D.1565-1956).

28. See for example *Ibid.*

29. Kadirvel, S. *A History of the Maravas*, 6, 20-23, 48, 163.

30. Kandaiya Pillai, N.C. *Tamiḻakam* 4-18.

31. Subramanian, N. *Caṅkampolity*, 384-385.

32. Ramachandran, C.E. *op.cit.* 64.

33. Tirunavukarasu; *op. cit.* 16.

34. Ramachandran, C.E. *op. cit.* 113-114.

35. Nilakandai Sastri, *op.cit.*, 184. Also refer Rajasekara Thankamani, M., *Pāṇṭiya Varalāru* 547.

36. Subramanian, N. *op.cit.* 40-62, 126-148.

37. Rajayyan, K. *History of Madurai*, 1738-1801, 17-18.

38. Kadirvel, *op. cit.* 6, 163, Subramanian, N. *op. cit.*

39. Rajayyan, K. *History of Tamilnāṭu* 1565-1965.

40. Subramanian, N. *op. cit.* 212.

41. *Ibid*, 247-248.

42. Sivagnanam, M.P. *Eṉatu Pōraṭṭam* (Inba Nilayam, Mylapore, Madras 41).

43. *Ibid*, 630-636.

44. *Ibid*, 742.

45. *Ibid*, 747.

46. *Ibid*, 827-828, Also Subramanian, N., *op. cit.*, 254.

47. *Ibid*, 861.

48. *Ibid*, 992.

Tamil Civilization
Vol. 5 No. 3

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY (1800-1835 A.D.)

P. Subramanian

"Education is not exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence", says F.W. Thomas in his famous report on Indian Education.[1] But during the period under review, learning was at a low ebb due to political instability and incessant wars. Consequently education lost all patronage and support.

Indigenous Learning

At the commencement of 19th Century there were only pial schools in large villages and towns where reading, writing and rudimentary arithmatic were taught in the vernacular. There were usually two classes; the lower ones were under the control of the monitors whereas the higher ones were directly under the control of the master who at the sametime had an eye on the lower ones. Campbell who had evinced immense interest in native education had brought out all the features of the indigenous education in his famous report.[2] Though sketchy and superfluous, his report gives fairly a good account of indigenous system of education that prevailed at that time. According to his report, the first business of the child upon entering a school was to learn the letters by writing them on sand with his finger. After gaining some proficiency in writing, he was allowed to write either with the iron style on cadjan leaves or with a read on paper or on slate. After mastering the letters, he learnt the formation of words and sentences. Then he learnt to count and write from 1 to 100 and then to work easy sums in addition, substraction, multiplication and division. Then he was taught the fractions of an integer together with arithmatical tables and multiplication. In order to make them quite familiar to their minds, the scholars were made to stand up and repeat the whole once or twice every day. After gaining mastery over reading, the scholars were asked to decipher different kinds of handwriting which the masters collected from different sources. They were taught how to draft various forms of agreement which were essential to their day to day transactions. They were not deemed to be educated unless they committed to memory various verses pertaining to Ramayana, Mahabharatha and Bhagavata.[3]

Campbell, in his famous report brought out some of the peculiar features of the pial schools which were in vogue during the period under review. Except a few schools of higher learning most of them were private schools devoid of any

state control. They were not aided by the state and hence relied mainly on the support of the scholars.[4] Another interesting feature about the school was that the teachers were not properly trained or qualified persons in the art of teaching. According to Campbell this was due to the fact that the pay was so meagre that it did not induce them to qualify properly. Due to lack of accomplishment, they did not draw a large body of scholars whom they could be proud of.[5]

The indigenous schools lacked regularity and system. There was no uniform hours of work. It worked as per the sweet will of the master who could conduct suspend and cancell classes as per his whims and fancies. Many a time, there were even no buildings for the schools which often were conducted either at the house of the teacher or in a local temple or even under a large tree. Printed books were totally unknown and the scholars used pencils and the slates which were locally made.

Another peculiar feature about the school was that there was no regular period of admission. Campbell's report bears ample testimony to all these alarming features. From it we learn that the scholar could join the school at any time and leave it according to his or his parents' discretion. Many left the school after acquiring some rudimentary knowledge which could not be considered as learning. Except the dancing girls the other girls did not join these schools. It was believed that learning would spoil their modesty. Campbell says, a very few continued their studies for four or five years. "Most of them were taken away by their parents owing to poverty or other circumstances and in such cases the merest smattering of an education was obtained".[6]

Missionary Schools

The Christian missionaries evinced keen interest in indigenous education due to various reasons. Their efforts brought about a far reaching change in the realm of indigenous education. The pioneers were the Danish Missionaries who established religious schools for the instruction of the slaves of the Danish settlement. Ziegenbalg was the first Danish Missionary whose contribution in the field of education could hardly be exaggerated. In 1706 they started a boarding school with 79 pupils. By their Zest and Zeal, they were able to win the sympathy of their Government and established 21 school with their aid. In these schools, the Christian teachers were appointed to teach the truths of Christianity.

Here a reference about the Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge may not be out of place or irrelevant. The work of the society in the field of education was commendable. In 1711, it sought the help of the Court of Directors to permit it to maintain Charity Schools through the agency of Danish Missionaries.[7] In 1713 it was permitted to open schools in the Tamil Country.[8] In 1717 the Danish Missionaries opened two charity schools in the city of Madras, one for the Portuguese and the other for the Tamil Children.[9] To begin with, the schools were not successful as the people suspected the motives of the missionaries. Gradually they realised the benefits of education imparted by them and sent their children to these schools. The Government did not help as expected and hence these schools had to be manag-

ed by the funds raised by the above society.[10]

In 1717, Ziegenbalg started a school at Cuddalore. 1772 Schwartz started a number of schools. Thanks to him the Rajas of Tanjore, Ramnad and Sivaganga started many schools for the teaching of English. In these schools English, Accounts, Tamil and Hindustani were taught.[11]

Sullivan School

Sullivan was the first servant of the English East India Company to realise the importance of State aid to education. As an official, he wanted to have direct dealings with the people without the assistance of self-seeking *dubashis*, who many a time as he experienced, misrepresented the feelings and sentiments of the people. If at least the Principal natives knew English, he felt, they would be less exposed to the misrepresentation of the *dubashis*. Though his motives were due to selfish and political considerations, they proved to be a milestone in the history of education in India. He placed his plan before Macartney, the then Governor, who in turn, sent it to the Court of Directors for approval.

The Court of Directors were much pleased with it and referred to such schools as "calculated to establish mutual good faith, enlighten the minds of the natives, to impress upon them with sentiments of esteem and respect for the British Nation and to make them acquainted with the leading features of our Government which are so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind".[12] They approved the scheme and directed the payment of 250 pagodas a year for the maintenance of each of the schools and ended the note with the hope of obtaining extensive benefactions from the native princes.[13] When approached, the Rajas of Tanjore and Sivaganga promised to extend all possible help for the improvement of such schools. As a result, three schools were started one at Ramnad, the other at Tanjore and the third one at Trichinopoly. To begin with, they were for the higher classes and the lower classes were not admitted as they had no leisure to think about education. The Schools became very popular and the society wanted to extend the scheme to other areas with a view to making English education popular. When asked for the extension of the scheme, the Court of Directors did not comply with their request on the ground that it was not their duty to undertake such a work. Even in England it should be remembered that education was in the hands of the private enterprise, "Pious Founder".[14]

The company also did not insist because it felt it was not wise to meddle with the internal affairs of the natives. And moreover, they felt, "the Hindus had as good a system of Faith and morals as most people and it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than they already possessed".[15] Despite all these restrictions and restrains the missionaries continued their efforts in the field of education.

Special Features of the Missionary Schools

Missionary school, in spite of certain shortcomings played a very important role in the field of education. Unlike the indigenous school they introduced a new system of

education hitherto unknown to the Tamil Country. They taught new subjects like History, Geography, Algebra and Science and thereby opened the flood gate of western ideas and traditions which have brought about far-reaching changes in the Tamil Country. They were the first who introduced regular school hours, definite curriculam and new subjects like History, Geography and Science. This, not only was a total departure from the past but also heralded a new era.

Policy of the Government

The English East Company did not want to involve itself in the field of education due to political and economic considerations. The Court of Directors in England were also evasive and did not want to commit firmly on issues involving finance. When a request was made to enhance donation for female asylum in Madras in 1804, they refused it on the ground that the company's finance in the Madras Presidency did not warrant any addition to the subscription already made to it.[16] But when a similar request was made by Schwartz, they increased the donation from 41 to 100 pagodas per mensum for "they were satisfied that the conduct and spirit of that mission had proved beneficial to the natives and tended to conciliate them to the company's government".[17] Here their consideration was purely politica. Even the Home authorities did not pursue a systematic policy in the field of education and consequently progress of education was far from satisfactory.

The Cuddapah Scheme

In 1814, with a view to improving the character of the natives the Board of Revenue issued a circular letter inviting suggestions to put a stop to fraud, bribery and corruption which according to it, were rampant among the native servants. Munro was also of the same view. This is called the Cuddapah Scheme in which he suggested a scheme of education to provide "for the proper education and moral instruction to youngmen from the age of 12 or 13 to that of 19 or 20. The Scheme was in favour of starting an institution in each district which in the course of every year would turn about 50 to 60 youngment who would be fit for public service.[18] Pleased with such a scheme the Government conceded to try this scheme on an experimental basis with a view to getting recruits for the subordinate ranks of the Company's service.

Ross, an official of the Company was permitted to establish such schools to improve the education of the natives.[19] Ross, died in the meantime and consequently the scheme also died with him.[20] No step was taken till 1820 to improve the standard of native education which then had become stagnant due to lack of patronage and internal feuds and wars. Only in 1820, some concrete steps were taken in the direction when sir Thomas Munro became the Governor of the Madras Presidency which is known among the official circle as "Benign Presidency".

Munro and his Educational Survey

A new era began in the field of education with the advent of Munro as Governor. He was not in favour of the policy of Europeanisation and made it clear in a letter written to Lord Canning in which he wrote: "Our present system of Government by excluding all natives

from power and trust and emolument it is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school books can do in elevating their character. We are looking against our designs and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate".[21] Again in the Minute of 1824 he asked, "With what grace can we talk of paternal Government if we exclude the natives from every important office?".[22]

This Minute will stand as a testimony to the strong faith Munro had in the natives and to his serious concern to improve the character of the natives through proper means of education. In 1822, he ordered the Board of Revenue to undertake an educational survey so as to know the real nature of native education.[23] In it he makes it clear that "Much has been written both in England and in this country about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among them, but the opinions upon the subject are the mere conjectures individuals unsupported by any authentic documents and differing so widely from each other as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country and the nature of its own municipal institutions have certainly rendered it practicable to collect materials from which a judgement might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces; We have investigated their resources; and endeavoured to ascertain their population but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals but these have taken place at distant periods and on a small scale and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general".[24] Therefore he directed the collectors to collect necessary particulars in regard the number of schools in each district, the number of scholars in each school and the caste to which they belonged. The Court of Directors, when they came to know the report, said, "We think of great credit is due to Sir Thomas Munro for having originated the idea of this inquiry".[25] They supported the policy of Munro and pointed out, "it was proper to caution the collectors against exciting any fears in the people that their freedom of choice in the matter of education would be interferred with, but it would equally be wrong he do anything to fortify them in the absurd opinion that their own rude institutions of education are so perfect as not to admit of improvement".[26] The collectors took nearly two years to complete the survey and submit the report.

Munro's Scheme of Education

Sir Thomas Munro reviewed all the reports sent by collectors of various districts and recorded his opinion in his famous minute of the 10th March 1823.[27] He was totally disappointed by the education that prevailed in the country then and felt it was due to poverty of the people and lack of patronage to education. He also felt the low quality of education was mainly due to incompetent teachers who lacked all accomplishments that were needed. He was of the view that "No progress can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present; but such a body cannot be had without

an income sufficient to afford a comfortable livelihood to each individual belonging to it". He, therefore urged that "allowance should therefore, be secured to them by Government, sufficient to place them above want and the rest showed be derived from their own industry". If teachers happened to be superior both in knowledge and diligence, the scholars would "flock to them and augment their income", he argued. In the meantime, the committee of Madras School Book Society took interest in the cause of native education and requested the Government to permit it to establish a school for training teachers.[28]

Munro accepted it immediately and ordered the sanction of the 700/- p.m. to the society to run the above school. He pondered over the problem deeply and felt such a small measure would not be sufficient. He thought some principal schools should be started in all taluks and districts. He recommended for the establishment of two principal schools one for the Hindus and the other for the Muhammadens in each Tahsildari and it was proposed to start 300 such schools. Likewise he was in favour of starting 2 collectorate schools in each district for higher learning.[29] Accordingly it was agreed to start 40 collectorate schools all over the presidency (20 districts x 2 = 40 collectorate schools. The salary of the teachers was also fixed. The salary of the collectorate teachers was to be Rs.15/- and to that of Tahsildari Rs.9/- per mensum. He felt that the allowance was small but was convinced that "the Tahsildari school master who received 9/- rupees monthly from Government will get atleast as much more from his scholars and considering all circumstances his station will probably be better than that of a Parish school master in Scotland".[30]

He calculated the total expenses as follows:

Madras Book Society p.m.	700/-
Collectorate Schools Hindu 20x15	300/-
Muhammaden 20x15	300/-
Tahsildari 300x9	2700/-
Total p.m.	4000/-

For a year the Government had to spend about Rs.48,000/-

Munro sent his scheme to the Court of Directors for approval so that he would implement it with their consent. To them he wrote "Whatever expense government may incur in the education of the people will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by orderly habits by increasing industry, by a taste for acquire them and by growing prosperity of the people".[31]

The Madras School Book Society was interested in the scheme and the Government wanted to entrust the task of training teachers to this Society.[32] "But as this school will form a very important part of the general system for the improvement of education, it seems advisable to make it a public institution subject to the direction and superintendence of the committee of public instruction rather than to afford the necessary pecuniary aid to the School Book Society in order that they might establish and maintain it".[33] The Board of Revenue also was in favour of securing the

sympathy and cooperation of the people and were very reluctant to go against the customs and prejudices of the people.[34] Consequently, these schools were started by the Government of Madras.

Tahsildari School

As expected candidates did not come forward to join the Tahsildari Schools. Due to lack of qualified teachers only three Hindu Tahsildari schools were established.[35] These schools were limited to reading, writing and to arithmatic in the vernacular[36] and all were admitted except the Harijans into these schools.[37] The authorities, to win the sympathy of people, allowed them to choose their school masters. This was just to obviate an impression that the Government was not in their favour.[38] In the meantime the Court of Directors also approved the scheme[39] and noted with satisfaction "We should have been very pleased that the collectors had afforded some information on the question whether any desire exists among any portion of the natives for better instruction than what their own rude institutions of education afford and how far they are disposed or by what means they might most easily be induced to avail themselves of better schools if any such should be established".[40] They were pleased with the Madras Government for having taken such a bold and innovative step. With a note of satisfaction they added:" This was clearly your wisest course but it is obvious that the success of the whole plan depends in a great degree upon qualifications which you may succeed in imparting to those who are educated in this institution".[41] They advised the Government to supervise them effectively for the success of the scheme.[42]

From the beginning, the schools did not have a smooth sailing. It was not easy for the government to get candidates and in 1829, only 12 candidates joined them.[43] The government felt it was due to lack of proper publicity. The Board of Revenue was directed to give wide publicity through the collectors of various districts.[44] By then only 8 Tahsildari schools had been established and all of them were in the neighbourhood of the city of Madras. This was due to dearth of competent scholars to be admitted into these schools.[45] Slowly they gained popularity and people began to avail the opportunity thus offered.[46] By the middle of the century they were 14 collectorate schools and 81 Tahsildari schools.[47] In 1832 the schools were reviewed and the census taken then shows that each school had not more than 33 scholars.[48] As per the review work undertaken, the Tahsildari schools in the mofussils were not upto the mark. According to the review committee it was due lack of competent teachers and proper supervision.[49] The Government felt disappointed and directed all the collectors to give their personal attention to these schools. Despite all the efforts, the scheme ended in failure.

Failure of Munro's Scheme - A Review

Munro hoped that the support of the Government would foster the growth of indigenous schools and thought the influential classes would be benefitted by it. He also hoped that they would serve as models to native schools.[50] Despite all the efforts of the Government, the scheme ended in fiasco. Perhaps Munro's premature death might have paved the way for the collapse of the scheme. People also did not

evince much interest in the scheme of education due to poverty and other factors. The officials who implemented the scheme were never enthusiastic and did not want to take initiative after the death of its founder father, Munro. The Court of Directors by their inconsistent policies ruined the very cause of the scheme. In a despatch to the Madras Government, they wrote: "By measures originally contemplated by your Government, no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the native languages was all that was then arrived at".[51] They totally changed their policy and started advocating the policy of higher education for the higher classes. Their change of policy was "the improvement in education however which most effectively contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of persons possessing a leisure and natural influence over the mind of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community that you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class".[52] They wanted education should enable the natives to qualify for higher situation in the civil administration. They said, "You are more acquainted with our desire to have at our disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and to take a large share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than is hitherto been the practice under our Indian Government".[53] They felt that the steps so far taken did not lead to such direction.[54] Therefore they recommended for the establishment of a central school at Madras where the English and European sciences would be taught. They were in favour of starting such schools in all the chief centres of the Presidency.[55] Due to the conflict between the orientalists and occidentalists, the Madras Government did not take any step to start such schools. In 1835 the controversy ended in favour of the occidentalists and hence the Madras Government had to spend all the amount allotted to the spread of English education alone. The Government of Madras abolished all the Tahsildari and collectorate schools which perhaps might have fostered the growth of native education. A step to encourage native education, unfortunately was abandoned. Even after the establishment of a stable Government, native education fell on evil days and fell through.

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Tamil Civilization
Vol.5 No.3

PLANTS OF THE TAMIL CANKAM LITERATURE

C. Srinivasan

Introduction

The Tamil Cañkam Literature is composed of about 2382 verses and poems, grouped under 'Ten Idylls' and 'Eight Anthologies'. They are well known not only for their antiquity but also for original ideas and ideals. In this literature about 215 names of plants have been mentioned by hundreds of poets of lore. Actually these names refer to about 152 herbs, shrubs and trees only since a particular plant has been called by different names by different poets. They have mentioned mostly the flowers of these plants. The tenderness, softness, beauty, colour and smell of the flowers are noted in simile form while eulogizing maidens in love.

The Tolkāppiyam is not only a comprehensive grammar of the Tamil language but also a grammar of life of the people. It divides the land into four regions such as:

1. Kuriñci (the hills and the hilly regions),
2. Mullai (the forests and the forest regions),
3. Marutam (the agricultural fields and the field regions),
4. Neital (the sea and littoral regions).

There is also another division of the land called Pālai (dry scrub jungles and hilly tracts) which is but a mixture of Kuriñci and Mullai. The plants, animals and the human beings found in all these natural ecological regions have been specified with details. However the plants specified for a particular region need not be its exclusive belonging. It may appear in other regions also. Kapilar in his Kuriñcippāṭṭu notes that a maiden with her companion collects the flowers of about 100 plants to make garlands. These plants do not belong to Kuriñci region alone but occur in other divisions also.

Identification

There are a few writers who have enlisted and described these 'Cañkam plants as narrated by the poets. It is a pity that they have blindly copied one another or have depended or hearsay information. None of them are botanists and so their views lack authenticity.

It is true that most of the names of these Cañkam plants have become obsolete and the present day names

of some of them mutilated. Commentators of the classical literature give one name for the other. As there are different names by different poets for a particular plant, the identification of these plants have become all the more difficult in the absence of any description of the plants. In order to ascertain their correct identity, these rare plants had to be collected wherever available and examined botanically with the aid of a stereo microscope. Their literary names and the names given by the commentators had to be carefully compared with their local colloquial names if they had not become extinct in order to find out their binomials.

It is heartening to note that Lushington (1915) has passed on to posterity a tremendous treasure of vernacular lists of names (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Tulu) of these ancient plants with their botanical equivalents. In the same way Gamble (1912) has also given a list of vernacular names of some of the plants. Informations have been gathered from the Kualalumpur Botanic garden, Malaysia; Paradenia Botanic Garden, Sri Lanka, where the Tamil names of these plants have been written with their binomials.

The scholarly Commentator of Caṅkam Literature, Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, has given their correct names and so we have followed him. Some poets have given a full description of three or four plants and poets like Kīrattan̲ār and Iḷantiraiyan̲ār have thrown light in describing the leaf of *Nymphaea violacea* Roxb. and the fruit of *Wrightia tinctoria*, for *Neital* and *Pālai* respectively. But for their clever description in using appropriate similes, it would have been impossible to arrive at the correct identity of these plants as there has been a Himalayan Confusion in determining their names not only amongst the commentators but also the present day book writers. Even now we could not determine the correct binomials of about six or seven plants. It is likely that these plants have either become extinct or their ancient names have become obsolete.

Description

The poets have pointed out in most cases the delicate nature of the flowers of a number of plants especially in comparing their tenderness, fragrance and colour with the lady-love or the different parts of her body. The lady-love and the companion used to pluck the flowers to make wreaths to adorn themselves. The season or time of flowering, their majestic appearance, the way in which the different insects go humming about the opening buds in order to suck honey, the arrangements of the flowers in the inflorescence, the nature of the fruits and seeds have been described. The poets while referring to the flowers and plants in Tamil Nadu have brought out the cultural value, aesthetic sense, economic importance of food yielding, timber yielding and fibre yielding plants. Mention of the condiments like pepper, luxury plants like sandal wood, cosmetic plants like turmeric, medicinal plants like ginger, myrabolam *(Terminalia chibula)*, fruit-yielding plants like banana, mango and jack has been made as being grown or cultivated.

Classification

In classifying these Caṅkam plants, we have followed the system of taxonomy of Bentham and Hooker.

Although 215 names of herbs, shrubs and trees have been found in the Cankam Literature, they actually refer to 152 plants only. They belong to 117 genera of 48+7 dicot families and 9 monocot families. Arranging these plants in this system of classification, their taxonomical description has been written in accordance with the principles of Hooker and Gamble. For each and every plant, therefore, a number of details have been given as in the following example:

1. Tamil name of the plant	Kāntaḷ
2. Botanical name	*Gloriosa superba*, Lin.
3. Division in the plant kingdom	Angiosperm; Monocotyledenous
4. Series	Coronareae
5. Family name	Liliaceae
6. Generic name	*Gloriosa*
7. Specific name	*superba*, Linn
8. Caṅkam name	Kāntaḷ
9. Other caṅkam names	Tondri, Kodal
10. Later day name	Kalappai kiḻaṅgu
11. Present day (local) name	Kārttikai Pūñceṭi
12. English name	Glory Lily
13. Botanical nature and ecology	Herb, tendril, climber, 20 ft. long, grows upto 2000 ft. elevation.
14. Details of	
1. root	Root-stock and small roots
2. Stem of the plant	Herbaceous, slender, greenish
3. Leaf	Ovate, tip modified into tendril
4. Inflorescence	Solitary
5. Flower	Pedicells reflexed - handsome beautiful, red coloured flower, base of the lobes white in colour.

6. Details of the flower	
(a) Calyx	Perianth segments 6 free
(b) Corolla	margin undulate
(c) Androecium	16 stamens; filaments - filiform, versatile anther
(d) Gynaecium	3 celled-ovary; many ovules
(e) pollination	Entomophilous
7. Fruit	Coriaceons; septicidal capsule
8. Seed	Subglobose
9. Details in the seed	
(a) Testa-spongy	
(b) Cotyledon or endosperm	
(c) Embryo - cylindric	
15. Chromosome number of the plant	2n = 22 - Miller (1930), Janaki Ammal (D.1945)
16. Economic value	Root stock poisonous
17. Medicinal property (if any)	Contains Colchicine-a poison

18. Any type of modern research work done so far in the plant

At the Botany Laboratory of the Annamalai University (1954) the poisonous chemical colchicine was extracted from the root stock of this plant and it was used to induce deduplication of the chromosomes in *Seasamum* and *Phaseolus* plants.

The flower resembles the palm of maidens when the finger tips are stained red by Lawsonia leaf paste.

The Presentation of the Poets

About 130 ancient poets have passed on to posterity a fragmentary but correct information about the 152 plants. Mention must be made about Kapilar who has enlisted about 100 names of flowering plants in Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu. For example when naming Koṉṟai (Indian laburnum) *Cassia fistula,* Linn) he has described the characteristic and peculiar hanging nature of its inflorescence. As the

growing apical bud is directed downwards in the long hanging inflorescence, the old flowers will be found at the top and the young buds downwards. We in the Annamalai University during (1952) thought fit to critically examine the actual growing habit of this racemose type of inflorescence whether it is abnormal, whether the apical growing bud is geophillous (loving gravitational pull) in this small tree. When these trees were in full bloom, we selected three trees of the Botanic gardens and four inflorescences in each tree. Their growing tips were lifted up and tied carefully without causing any injury. After two three days all the growing tips of all the inflorescences turned back and began to grow downwards. After a few days of growth the growing tips of all the experimental inflorescences were again lifted upwards and tied softly. All the growing tips minute young buds again turned back and grew downwards. In some of the long inflorescences the experiment was repeated for the third time. Again it was found that the growing buds exhibited their peculiar feature of growing downwards. Therefore it has been established that the ancient poet had very closely observed and explained the peculiar growing habit of the inflorescence of this tree. A close study of the description by the poets induces us to classify in their own perspective and examine their botanical information just to find out how far their knowledge is falling in line with the modern Botanical thought, how far it is different and how far it has excelled the present day observations of the Botanists.

Though modern Botanical classification has been followed in the project we may group the flowers here in accordance with the poetic thought.

I - A. Flowers of the Five Different Division of the Land

These are also known as the flowers of akattiṉai. They are indicative of the natural habit and life of the people in each land type.

No.	Name	Binomials	Characteristic life feature
1.	Kuriñci	*Phelophyllum kunthianum* Nees	Dealing with love at first sight.
2.	Mullai	*Jasminum auriculatum*, Vah.	Dealing with the prudent life of the lady-love during separation.
3.	Neital	*Nympheae violacea*, Roxb	The parted one awaits with all prudence and pained heart for the return of the lover.
4.	Marutam	*Terminalia arjuna*, W.A.	Petty quarrels of housewife with her husband for illegal relations with prostitutes.
5.	Pālai	*Wrightia tinctoria* R.Brid.	Elopment, kidnapping and sufferings during separation.

I - B. Flowers Used During Warfare

The following are called the flowers of puṟattinai as they are indicative of the feelings of the warriors.

No.	Name	Binomials	Characteristic stages and feature of strategy
1.	Vetci	*Ixora coccinia*	This flower is adorned by warriors indicaitng the declaration of war by forcibly taking possession of the herds of cattle of the enemy.
2.	Karantai	*Spharanthes Indicus*, L.	This flower adorns warriors on the march to recover the captured cattle.
3.	Vañci	*Salix tetrasperma* Roxb.	Resisting the enemy's moves.
4.	Kāñci	*Trewia nodiflora*, L.	Counter-attack
5.	Uḻiñai	*Cardiospermum, helicacabum*, L.	Siege of fort
6.	Nocci	*Vitex negundo*, L.	Attacking the army of the enemy to blast them out.
7.	Tumpai	*Leucas aspera*, Sprang.	Regular warfare by the two opposite forces.
8.	Vākai	*Albizzia lebbec*, Benth.	The victory

II. Flowers as Insignia of the Three Great Dynasty of the Monarchs of the Tamil Land

No.	Name of the Kingdom	Name of the flower	Binomials
1.	Cōḻa Kings	Aar	*Bauhinia recemosa*, Lam.
2.	Pāṇḍyā Kings	Vēmpu	*Azardirachta indica*, A. Juss.
3.	Cērā Kings	Paṉai (leaf)	*Borassus flabellifer*, L.

III. Jasminum - The Flower of Chastity

Jasmines were associated with all the phases of the life of the ancient Tamils. Botanically there are twelve species mentioned in Caṅkam literature. The typical one is *Jasminum auriculatum*,. Vahl. A climbing twiner shrub called Mullai in Tamil, it has fragrant white flowers, often referred to in hundreds of poems. The twelve species are:

1. Aṭukku-Mallikai	*Jasminum arborosescens*, Roxb.
2. Atiral	*Jasminum angustifolium*, Vahl.
3. Ūci mullai	*Jasminum cuspidatum*, Rott.
4. Kuḷavi	*Jasminum griffithii*, Clarke.
5. Kokuṭi	*Jasminum sambac*, Ait.
6. Cemmal	*Jasminum officinale*, Linn.
7. Talavan	*Jasminum grandiflorum*, Lin.
8. Mayilai	*Jasminum sambac*, Var. florae - monoraepleno.
9. Mullai	*Jasminum auriculatum*, Vahl.
10. Mallikai	*Jasminum pubescens*, Willd.
11. Mauval	*Jasminum sessiflorum*, Vahl.
12. Cetal	*Nyctanthes arbo-tristis*, Linn.

The poets have used this Mullai flowering plant in the various walks of life both in Akam (inner) and Puram (outside) life. It has been stated that the flower of *Jasminum auriculatum* is the symbol of chastity (Kaṟpu-Mullai) for women both before and after marriage. It is worth narrating a dramatic incident as depicted in Kalittokai (115). There is a conversation between a maiden in love and her companion.

"Oh my dear friend! A charming youth of our clan offered me yesterday a wreath of Mullai flowers which he wore as garland. I was so pleased to receive it from him that I got it inserted into my tuft. Just like the intoxicating toddy which when secretly drunk, exposes one after a little while, my secret love was exposed and I was caught red-handed. You know when my mother nurse tried to comb my hair with incense in front of my seated parents, that wreath fell down. She suddenly quivered her hands as if she touched fire and went aside without even questioning me in anguish how that wreath came about nor taking me to task in anger. My mother felt shy and was worried. I at once tied in flurry my lock of scented hair and rose up holding my blue embroidered cloth lying beside and ran out to

hide myself in the bush nearly. My dear, You have come here. What is to be done? I tremble!"

Her girl-friend consoled her telling, "Dear friend! Don't worry. Since you have accepted his wreath and used it on your tresses our kith and kin discussed the matter with your parents last night and have decided to marry you to him. Look yonder! The arrangements for your marriage are in progress".

Therefore it was the custom of the Tamils to solumnize the marriage if only the maiden accepts the jasmine flowers offered by handsome love-lorn youth in those days. It simply illustrates the significance and importance they had for Mullai.

Outside the domestic circles activities of the outside world known as Puram have also been entwined with *Jasminum auriculatum*. There are about 12 such kinds of Mullai.

1. Mullai of the king	To speak about the victory of the king.
2. Mullai of the Parpanan	To speak of glory of steadfastness of Parpanan.
3. Mullai of the juries	To speak of the justice in the court of juries.
4. Mullai of the astrologer	To speak of glory of the astrologer.
5. Mullai of the ancient chivalrous women	To speak of the strong conviction of the chivalrous women.
6. Mullai of the family of mighty men of war	To speak of the greatness of the family of the mighty warriors.
7. Mullai of the individual warrior	To speak about the glory of the tradition, courage and strength of the individual warrior.
8. Mullai of the guards of the king	To speak of the greatness and alertness of the home-guards of the King.
9. Mullai of the militant soldier	To speak of the uncontrollable bravery and militant mood of the soldier.
10. Mullai of the bravery of the king	To speak of the strength and bravery of the king in the battle-field.

11. Mullai of the majestic umbrella of the king — To speak of the majesty of the victorious umbrella of the king.

12. Mullai of the men of Wisdom — To speak of the rare qualities of the great men of wisdom.

All those show the importance attached to Mullai and how it was interlocked with the life of the people in those days. Apart from the kings there were seven outstanding lords and philonthropists of lore, called Kaḍaiēluvallal. One of them is the noted Pari a chieftan of the hilly land of Parambu. He was well known for his philanthropy and poets used to abound him with poems for gifts. The great poet of eminence, Kapilar was not only his devoted friend but the poet-laureate of his country. One day when Pāri was riding back to his palace in his chariot, he noticed a tender Mullai twiner oscillating on the hilly tract for want of a hold to climb on and it appeared that the plant was tossing to embrace his chariot. The kind-hearted Pāri felt so generous to leave his chariot there itself for the Mullai plant to grow upon it though it has not sung his praise and walked the distance to his palace. This merciful generosity in offering his royal chariot just for a mere plant has been prasied by the poets (Puṟanāṉūru: 200, 201; Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai: 89-91).

The tiny sweet smelling white flowers of Mullai were the venerable favourite of the women folk. It has been compared to the pearl-like teeth of the maidens. On festive occasions and in the evenings Mullai flowers with grains of paddy were showered on the oil lamps as a mark of sanctity. If somebody dies in the hamlet women-folk did not decorate themselves with these flowers. A poet was trodding his tract to a king. He heard on his way that king was dead and so he was mourning and painfully walking on. He noticed a Mullai in blossom. He was annoyed and he went to the extent of rebuking the plant for having blossomed. "Oh Mullai! You too have flowered!"

Poets Help Identification

The Cankam poets have helped us to identify a few plants. It has been a great trial for some years to find out the correct Neital plant. The commentator, Naccinārkkiniyar, has equated Neital with karuṅ Kuvaḷai in Kuriñcippāṭṭu. It was a great task to pin-point Neital from its allies. Only by a process of elimination Neital has to be identified.

1. Neital is not Nīlam as both are separately mentioned (Maturaik-kāñji: 250-1).
2. Neital is not Kuvaḷai as both are separately named (Kuriñcip-pāṭṭu: 63, 79; Paṭṭinappālai: 241).
3. Kuvaḷai is not Nīlam as both are named separately in a line Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai: 293).
4. The commentators have clarified that Nīlam is not Nīlōrppalam (Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai: 253).
5. Nīlōrppalam is not Neital (Maturaik-kāñji: 251).

We may sum up therefore that

there are two kinds of Kuvaḷai plants: Karuṅkuvaḷai and Ceṅkuvaḷai. Karuṅkuvaḷai is Neital Ceṅkuvaḷai or Kuvaḷai is Nīlōrppalam and Nīlōrppalam is Kaḻunīr.

After reviewing the notes provided by poets and commentators, the literature of botanists were compared for finding out the binomials for Neital. It was determined that both the Kuvaḷai plants belong to the genus *Nymphaea*. The botanical literature enumerates about one hundred species of *Nymphaea*.

It is unfortunate that most of the Caṅkam poets do not give the particulars of the plants they have mentioned. They speak of the flowers only. They have distinguished Karuṅkuvaḷai (i.e.) Neital as possessing blue petals while Ceṅkuvaḷai has red tint on the inner phase of the petals and blue outside. Both of them have been compared to the "eyes of damsels". But a later day saintly poet points out that the blue eyes of the Goddess resembling flowers of Karuṅkuvaḷai suddenly changed red in wrath resembling the flowers of Ceṅkuvaḷai when the Lord Siva on her side just glanced the Ganga Devi on his lock of tresses.

Fortunately for us a poet, Kuḍavāyil Kīrattaṉār, (Akanāṉūru 119: 11-13) has described the shape of the leaf of Neital as resembling the shape of the spear-blade. It is quite interesting that there is only one species namely *Nymphaea violacea*, Roxb. which has sagitate leaves with a deep cleft. But for this poet's description, it would have been impossible to find out the binomials of this Neital plant. In the same way some more Caṅkam plants were identified with the help of the observations of the poets.

Further the word Neital has been used in ancient times to denote numerical value also along with other flower names as follow:

One crore	10^{7}	= 1,00,00,000
Eight time the crore(i.e)	10^{56}	= Caṅkam
Eight times Cankam	10^{448}	= Vintam
Eight times Vintam	10^{3584}	= Aambal
Eight times Aambal	10^{28672}	= Kamalam
Eight times Kamalam	10^{229376}	= Kuvalai
Eight times Kuvalai	$10^{1835008}$	= Neital
Eight times Neital	$10^{14680064}$	= Veḷḷam

(Calculated on the basis of the clue given by Vibulānantha Adigal in his famous Yāḻ Nūl).

Poets Finding of a Botanical Truth

The water lily is botanically known as *Nymphaea pubescens* Willd. It belongs to the Nymphaeaceae family of the Polypetalous dicots. Several poets have spoken about the characteristic water habit, long and perforated leaf-stalks and flower-stalks, the humming insects kissing their buds to induce flowering in the morning, the various coloured blossom, like white, blue and red (*Nymphaea rubra*) and the smell that diffuses in the air. The poets have compared this smell to that emanating from the face and from the lock of hair of the sweet maidens in love. The flower-stalk has been carefully observed by the poets. While they have described that it possesses minute perforations accommodating air for its buoyancy they have noticed the beautiful pink dots when it is peeled of. These dots are due to anthocyanin dissolved in the cell sap. The poets have compared this beautifully coloured dots to the pleasant colour change of the maidens of beauty. Another feature about this plant which has caught the attention of a poet is worth mentioning. That is a physiological phenomenon of the flower during flowering. When a matured bud opens into a flower, the floral parts are activated and actually it denotes the movement of floral parts especially the opening petals. For this or any action energy is needed with which alone the bud can blossom into a flower. It has been well found out that a hormone is secreted in the floral axis and it induces the plant to flower. In addition to this a little energy is released by the breaking down of ATP stored in the bud. That energy is in the form of heat which activates the opening of the bud into flower. This heat can be felt even in an ordinary experiment of keeping a number of buds in a sealed vessel with a thermometer. It is interesting to note that a poet Marutan Iḷa-nāgaṉār has narrated this formation of heat during the opening of this flower of water lily in Naṟṟiṇai (290:1-3).

It is therefore a very close observation of a botanical truth by the poet who sings about the fresh flower of Aambal emitting a natural warmth in it. The botanists speak of this phenomenon in the physiology of flowering and have established this fact by experimentation.

Poets Excel Botanists in Observation

The Caṅkam poets are noted for their keen and close observation of nature but most of them have restricted their perception to flowers only. It is worthwhile to study deeply the poetic consideration of a trivial herbaceous runner Neruñci. It belongs to the dicot polypetalous family-Zygophyllaceae and it is called *Tribulus terrestris*, Linn. It grows in the open dry neglected places, the soil of which is not suited for anyother plant growth. It produces a number of long branches which trail on the ground on all sides with small green leaves and beautiful and bright yellow flowers. The tap root is of high medicinal value and this is one of the five roots mentioned in Ciṟu-pañchamūlam, a treatise of 18 smaller collections of Tamil literature.

The small pari-pinnately compound leaves, the bright yellow star-like tiny flowers with 5 petals and numerous stamens and the tiny and thorny fruits which become the seeds of this plant and its habitat have

been alluded to by the poets. It is said that this plant grows in deserted places, devoid of fertility.

Poetess Aḻḻūr Naṉmullaiyār sings that just like the beautiful and attractive appearance of the fresh yellow star-like blossom of this plant, the lover at first sight has been so charming and his affection for the beloved maiden has been inexplicably pleasant. But just like the flower whithers out, his liking and love for her, his beloved has not only been dwindling day by day but also has become a source of pain and sorrow just like its flower has matured into a thorny fruit as he has parted from her and that too in search of other damsels (Kuruntokai - 202).

It is of great interest for the Naturalists to note that the observations of Pāvaikkottilār has excelled those of even the modern Botanists. This plant *Tribulus terrestris* has a unique characteristic of changing the face of the flowers towards the moving sun. Therefore, they face towards east for the rising sun, turns gradually towards the west for the setting sun. This particular habit has not yet been recorded anywhere so far.

It has been observed that the sunflower, *Helianthes annuus,* moves towards the direction of the sun throughout the day. This feature is said to be Heliotropism (Bot.Gaz.29: 197). This movement of the plant is different from the photo-trophic movement (turning towards light) of plants and heliotropism is movement of the plant towards the sun. It is interesting to note these scientific observations of the ancient Caṅkam poets about 3 000 years ago, is of greater interest to note that the poet has inserted this peculiar habit of the flower in his simile through the vociferous tongue of a damsel.

"Oh it is my fault that I did not go to the dance performance. It seems the house wife of Uran having been brought there in his chariot, passed slanders against me in the midst of women assembled. Had I been there, he would have been simply facing me where-ever I moved about just like the flowers of Neruñci *(Tribulus terrestris)* which move their direction according to the movement of the sun". This peculiar character of the flowers has been noted by a number of Caṅkam poets. This shows how closely the poets have observed the behaviour of plants, hitherto unnoticed even by Botanists. Arrangements for this study are being made to confirm this heliotropic movement of the flowers of his plant by specific scientific experimentation.

The Might of the Poetic Thought

One more fact about the strength of conviction of the ancient poets may also be noted here. Normally the Caṅkam poets have something to say and they know how to say it. They depict what they observe and sing what they feel in lively strain. There is no exaggeration.

We shall now deal with a particular instance where the poetic thought is exciting. It is about the flowering season of the Indian laburnum-*Cassia fistula,* Linn. This small tree belongs to the Polypetalous dicot family, Caesalpineae. This tree is often planted in gardens for its flowering beauty. Though it grows wild, it produces attractive yellow flowers in its long racemose

inflorescence during the rainy season. The flowering of this tree is concurrent with the beginning of the season. A lady-love is patiently waiting for her lover who promised to return at the onset of the rainy season. He has not returned as promised. The *cassia* tree has flowered indicating the onset of the monsoon. The lady love is pained and pines for his return. Her companion feeling that she won't bear the delay tries to console her saying that it is not yet the season and the *cassia* tree has blossomed foolishly mistaking the casual stray rain for monsoon (Kuruntokai: 66)

Still he has not returned and the lady is not able to bear his separation any longer. She accosts her companion, 'Oh dear! Even when I am able to see the golden coin-like petals of *Cassia* are whithering and if you persist to say that it is not yet the rainy season, let me ask you "Am I dreaming?" (Kuruntokai 148). There is yet another poem dealing with the next stage. The lady love feels miserable. She is confident that the rainy season has already set in and he has not returned so far. Her prudence has reached the breaking point. Her companion finds no word of consolation. With a heavy heart she ponders over how to console her further. Having observed the worried mind of her companion the lady-love whispers,

"Though the fresh flowers of *Cassia* decorated on the tresses of the maidens on the street indicate the onset of the rainy season, I am not convinced as he would never tell a lie" (kuruntokai: 21).

One is moved along with the lady-love! It appears as if one witnesses the entire scence stage by stage. It is true that the lover has failed to return at the promised hour. It is also true that the *Cassia* trees have blossomed during the usual rainy season. At the first stage the companion utters a deliberate lie that the *Cassia* is foolish to mistake the unusual rain as the usual monsoon rain. At the second stage she is much worried when the lady-love questions her in anguish "Am I dreaming"? thereby indicating that she has realised the truth.

In the third stage both of them are pained to note that the lover has not returned at the promised time. The companion is at her wits-end to console her as the lady-love can no longer forbear the separation and she feels desolate. The prudent lady also is aware of the worry of the companion for her sake. Here the poet deliberately thinks fit to tresspass the limits of Natural truth without infringing the delicacy of the lady-love covering the unfortunate mishap of the lover-nay-setting his majestic promise still on the loving pedestal of her heart. Here lies the greatness of the poetic thought to create lively and living literature of lore for the milleniums to come!

Ancientary Nature on Cańkam Plants

Though it is a bit difficult to arrive at the exact date of the Cańkam Literature, it has been agreed by Historians beyond doubt that it is not less than 5000 years. It is therefore a logical sequence that the plants mentioned in this literature must have been growing in the Tamil land since then. There are nowadays some writers who blurt out without any scientific foundations that the sugar-cane plant is not indigenous to South India. They point out a line of Puranānūru to prove that

sugar-cane was brought to his kingdom by Atiyamān Netumān Añci (Puranānūru: 99; 392) without even understanding the correct meaning and significance of these poems.

But in fact, sugar-cane was long back known to the Tamils. It is called *Saccharum officinarum* Linn. Dr. Janaki Ammāl and Dr. T.S. Rāgavan who have been working along with Dr. Darlington and Dr. Ruggalsgate of London, have postulated a theory published in the Journal of Genetics (1953) that the lower the occurrence of basic chromosome number, the older is the plant. Accordingly they found in sugarcane the basic chromosome number in meiosis during secondary association, is only four while its chromosome number is 2n = 80 (Janaki Ammal 1941).

In the same way we were engaged long ago (1961) in advanced research in Kunri *(Abrus precatorious,* Lin.). It is a long branched twiner with pink flowers and bright red seeds. We found that the basic chromosome number of this (Goldsmith's weighing bead) red seeded plant is only six (1961) while we confirmed its chromosome number 2n = 22. We therefore concluded long ago in our M.Sc. Dissertation (1961) that this Kunri plant must have been in existance since the Cankam age. This plant has been referred to in the Cankam Literature as not only Kunri but also as Kanni. We have dealt with this plant elaborately in our research project on "Plants of the Tamil Sangam Literature" (1987).

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NOTE

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JAPANESE - TAMIL CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF OHNO'S PROPOSITION

S. Suseendirarajah

In recent times Susumu Ohno, Professor of Japanese Linguistics at Gakushuin University, has as a result of his intensive research found similarities between Japanese language and Tamil language on one hand and on the other between Japanese culture and Tamil culture. At the outset these similarities appear to be very fascinating to scholars for this is indeed a novel attempt linking two languages and cultures hitherto considered distinct and unrelated.

A systematic and critical investigation of the similarities as put forth by Ohno will certainly help scholars all over the world to strengthen, modify, revise or abandon the position taken so far on the question of Japanese - Tamil relationship. With this view in mind an attempt is made in this paper to examine critically the cultural similarities between Japanese and Tamils presented by Ohnc in two of his papers namely

(i) "World View: The Three Level Universe in Japanese and Tamil Cultures" and

(ii) "Japanese and Tamil New Year Celebrations", both appearing in a volume titled *World View and Rituals Among Japanese and Tamils.*[1]

II

As we read through these two papers, we firstly get an impression that Ohno has not primarily had a clear grasp of Tamil culture. This is obviously because he has not had correct and full information on Tamil culture. Some of his statements appear to have been based on partial or misrepresented and in some contexts on misinterpreted information on Tamil culture. His "comparison of the funerary rituals of the Tamil speaking people in the Jaffna region of Sri Lanka with those which are described in Japanese myths and those used in the Nara and Heian periods (710-794; 794-1185)" seems to be based on highly imaginative accounts in some contexts and in others on far fetched or untenable accounts. Certain novel practices hitherto unseen and unheard by people coming from different parts of Jaffna have been introduced as part of Jaffna culture. Doubt arises if this endeavour was to make some practices tally with Japanese culture. Practices dead and gone have been presented as current practices in the modern society of Jaffna. Some possible universals in cultures are being directly or indirectly emphasised as correspondences in these two cultures. Some of the pan-Indian features are being discussed as something

unique to Tamil culture. Cultural traits and practices are not viewed and compared in their whole form. Thus details are overlooked and assumptions have been made on surface similarity. In certain contexts Jaffna Tamil society and Sri Lankan Tamil society are being confused as identical.[2] Practices confined to restricted areas are presented as normal practices in the whole society. Possible cultural variations within the Jaffna society have been not taken into consideration.[3] For all these reasons we feel strongly tempted to question Ohno's attempt to find and establish similarities between these two cultures.

III

In his first paper as the title itself indicates Ohno is concerned with the concept of a three level universe. He mentions a number of peoples in the world including the Japanese who have or had belief in a three level universe. Among them he includes "the Tamil speaking people of Jaffna area in Sri Lanka as well". Japanese believed that deities lived in the upper world, the human beings in the middle world and the dead went to the netherworld.

According to Ohno "there are many who would maintain that perception of the universe as three leveled is unique to the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic peoples of northern Asia and Siberia". He points out that Yoshida Atsuhiko, a specialist in mythology and a professor at Gakushuin University does not think so. Ohno discusses the pros and cons of different views briefly and concludes that "this issue has not yet been resolved to the satisfaction of the academic world". Therefore he proposes to "leave off any direct discussion of this problem and instead approach it obliquely by a comparison of the funerary rituals of the Tamil speaking people in the Jaffna region of Sri Lanka with those which are described in Japanese myths and those used in the Nara and Heian periods".

Certain clarifications become necessary before discussing in detail the similarities between practices like the *mogari* in Japanese society and its correlates in the Tamil society.

It is not clear as to why Ohno has ignored or overlooked a vast majority of other people in this part of world who have belief in the concept of three level universe. No doubt Tamils or to say more precisely the Hindu Tamils both in Sri Lanka and India and perhaps in any other part of the world have belief in the concept of three world called *mūvulakam* in Tamil language. This is a broad division of the universe for there are several subdivisions and Hindu Tamils speak of *īrēḻulakam* 'fourteen worlds'. However at this juncture we would like to point out that this concept of three world is not something exclusive or peculiar to Jaffna Tamils or to Tamils in general. It is rather a pan-Indian concept that prevails from very early times to this day, irrespective of ethnic differences among Hindus. It has been attested in writings of the past all over India. So it is more appropriate to speak of it as part of Hindu culture rather than Tamil culture.

An important difference in the details of this belief between the Japanese culture as described by Ohno and the Hindu culture as it prevails to date has to be noted. According to the Japanese all the

dead go to the netherworld whereas according to the Hindu concept all the dead do not go to the netherworld. First the soul of the dead is taken to the Kingdom of Yama called Yamalōkam in the southern direction of the upper world. The deeds of the soul are analysed and it is sent to the netherworld only if it had done *tī viṉai* 'bad deeds'. Had it done *nal viṉai* 'good deeds' it would find a permanent place in heaven. According to Hindu culture netherworld is not a permanent abode of any soul. Herein we are reminded of the concept of re-birth and the Hindu Karmic theory. We would like to know the details in the Japanese culture.

Ohno gives the Tamil names of these worlds. All these names perhaps except one are from old Tamil literary works.[4] More common names for these worlds by which the ordinary man makes references to them are not given. They may be added herein: heaven is commonly known as *cuvarkkam;* this world is also known as *pūlōkam;* underworld is commonly referred to as *kīḻ ulakam* (in contrast with *mēl ulakam* 'upper world') and also as *pātāla ulakam* and *narakam.*[5] These common names in day to day use indicate how deep rooted this concept is in the society.

Let us now elaborate our discussion on similarities in the funeral practices of the ancient Japanese and the Tamils of modern Jaffna in Sri Lanka. Ohno first speaks of and describes the practice of *mogari* in ancient Japanese society.

According to Ohno "*mogari* is a term which refers to the custom of setting the body of a dead person in one location and conducting rites over it for a certain length of time before burial. There a building was most often erected for the purpose of sheltering the body .... such a building was called a *moya,* literally, "a mourning house......". The four walls were secured so that neither man nor beast could intrude ...... unwarranted entrance into the *moya* confines was not permitted. Only a single person of the closest relationship to the deceased - a husband, a wife, a parent, a child - could approach the body of the dead person".

The parallel practice in the Jaffna culture is presented as follows: "In Tamil society when some one is approaching death, he or she is moved to a special room or building. Into that room or building, only one person, a close relation - husband, wife, parent, or child - of the dying person, may go".

Now the question is whether such a practice as described above prevails everywhere in Jaffna society. Most areas don't seem to follow this practice. People would generally allow the person to die in his usual place. Later they may or may not move the body to a spacious room, say to the hall, when close relatives gather. Hence the practice of moving the person approaching death to a special room or building is not a normal practice but a variant practice confined to a few areas. Enquiries reveal that even in these areas no special building is erected. Moreover the practice of moving the person is not part of any regular cultural practice. This practice has no specific term of reference in the Tamil language as other regular practices have. Perhaps the person is moved into the main hall or room of the house only for the convenience of the people, mainly close relatives, who may gather on hearing the news

that the person is about to die. Usually close relatives gather around a dying person or a dead person and no where in Jaffna as far as our knowledge could reach there is any restriction on the number of close relatives who could go near the dead. Ohno surprisingly restricts the number to merely one. This restriction of course tallies the number in the Japanese culture! Further it should be emphasised that *mogari* in Japanese culture takes place after one's death whereas in Jaffna culture the parallel practice as described by Ohno begins to operate "when someone is approaching death". Speaking in general, broad similarities do sometimes have minute but important differences (particularly when details are considered) that may play a significant role in final assessments.

However a fragment of similarity may be seen between the Japanese *moya* and the funeral *pandal* 'a thatched shed' in Tamil culture.[6] The funeral *pandal* is specially erected for the purpose of conducting the funeral rites. This is done almost everywhere in Jaffna. The body of the dead person is bathed and brought to the *pandal* where the priest would have set a location for the ceremony. Funeral rites are conducted for an hour or so and the body is removed for cremation. It is very surprising that Ohno has not made any reference to this *pandal*.

Another custom related to the practice under discussion may be pointed out. In most areas in Jaffna when a person was about to die on a *pañcami* day[7] people removed him out of the main house and had him in a specially erected temporary building. This temporary building was burnt as the body of the dead was taken to the crematorium. But when a person passed away sudddenly on a *pañcami* day people usually removed a few tiles in the roof of the house or made a temporary hole in the roof. These acts were due to a sort of fear that the spirit of the person who died on *pañcami* would haunt the location where death took place and may do harm to others. In the past, village people often spoke of *pañcami pēy* 'ghost of *pañcami*' in terror.[8]

While further describing the Japanese practice Ohno says: "In addition to a single close relative, two members of the asobibe, the funerary guild, were also admitted (into the special room or building)...... On someone's death, two members of the asobibe were chosen to play a most important role in the funeral rites, that of attending the dead during the period of *mogari*".

Members of the asobibe will go to the place of *mogari* and serve in attendance. In doing so, one of the two will be called *negi*, the other, *yogi*. The *negi*, will put on a sword and carry a halberd; the *yogi* will put on a sword and bear food and drink".

"The word *negi* has the same root as the verb *negirau*, meaning "to calm another with words; to soften another's heart". Thus the role of the *negi* is to speak to the dead. The role of the *yogi*, on the other hand is to offer food and drink".

Now let us see the parallel practice in Tamil society as described by Ohno:

"In addition to the single relative, two others may enter to attend

to the dead. These two both carry long knives of steel in order to protect themselves. One has the task of closing the eyes of the person who has died, then singing to him or her to give comfort. This person also speaks to the dead, telling the person that he or she need not worry, that he or she will go to heaven, thus setting the dead person's spirit at peace. The role of the second attendant (who is a woman from a caste called kōviyar, close attendants to the people of the high caste in Jaffna) is to prepare food. She is in charge of preparing food for other mourners".

As in earlier instances we would like to check if the practice described above is dominant everywhere in the Jaffna society. A cross checking of this description with elderly and well informed persons coming from different parts of Jaffna revealed that they had neither witnessed nor heard of such practices. Many raised their eye brows on hearing the restriction placed on the number of persons attending on the dead as two. Some said that in the past people carried a knife or a piece of iron to the crematorium when the body was taken. No one sings to give comfort. All agreed that women lament aloud out of sorrow. We are not sure if Ohno refers tc this lamenting as singing. In Jaffna society no one speaks to the dead in order to console him or her as in Japanese culture. There is no need because Hindu Tamils in Jaffna believe in good faith that the soul attains peace. It may be wishful thinking but yet it is a strong belief. That is why in announcing someone's death people usually verbalise it as *iraivan ati cērntār or civapātam ataintār* "so and so has attained the Feet of Lord Siva".[9]

The motive of Ohno in introducing the woman from the Kōviyar caste is obviously to draw a parallel with the members of the asobibe in ancient Japanese culture. This is rather strange because this caste emerged only at a point of time not very early in the history of Tamils. This caste is something peculiar and exclusive to Jaffna society. It is not found in Indian Tamil society. Even in Jaffna only some groups of families in the high caste had the services of this caste. One is tempted to ask if Tamil culture was confined to these small groups in Jaffna. Hence this aspect cannot be taken as representative of Jaffna Tamil culture. Moreover if we were to take this parallel (asobibe-Kōviyar) seriously, it may amount to saying that Japan is more close to Jaffna than to Tamil Nadu in India.[10]

Ohno draws particular attention to the length of time set apart for mourning - eight days and eight nights - in ancient Japan. Professional mourners were used. Further "for seven days and seven nights no offerings of food were made. Due to this, evil and dangerous spirits were aroused. Members of the asobibe were sought throughout the land. They then pacified the spirits on the eighth day".

The practice in Jaffna is given as follows: "On the eighth day a banquet is laid out. On eight plates, eight different types of food are put, and both meat and liquor are served. Also the roots of a palmyra tree are dug up and made into a powder that is heaped into a cone. Over this, water is then sprinkled. This is an offering for the eight demon hags who it is believed, come into the world of humans late at night to eat people and drink their

blood. If though, they find this offering, they are satisfied and leave humans unharmed". Ohno has in fact said that "this is a normal custom in Sri Lankan Tamil society".[11]

The eighth day is acceptable to all sections of people in Jaffna. People call it in Tamil *eṭṭu-c-celavu* or briefly *eṭṭu*" 'the expenditure on the eighth day'. Nowadays this is being done on a day earlier than the eighth day. Number of plates (banana leaves) laid out varies from place to place. Most places have the number as three. Three plates (banana leaves) are placed in different winnowing pans and food is served in them. In most areas there is no restriction on the number of food-types served. The only restriction is that the number should be odd and not even. Usually all the types of food favoured by the dead are prepared and served. Serving of meat and liquor is not a normal practice in every house-hold in Jaffna. They are served only if the dead was in the habit of taking them. There isn't any difference of opinion in this practice. This offering is primarily meant for the departed soul. Upto the thirty first day water is kept in a vessel during night times for the departed soul. A chopped coconut is also placed. An oil-lamp burns. Thus unlike in Japanese culture attendance on the dead is prolonged in Jaffna culture till the thirty first day of one's death. Important and significant ceremonies are done for the departed soul on the thirty first day. According to Ohno the attendance on the dead in Japanese culture was only for eight days.

Ohno makes reference to the practice of dropping a stone into the water in Jaffna culture. According to his interpretation "the purpose and meaning of this ceremony is to ensure that the dead person goes to heaven: the stone serves to block the entrance to the underworld thus breaking any link between the dead and the netherworld". He cites *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (38) as endorsing his interpretation. Further he makes reference to the custom of setting a stone on someone's grave during Cankam period. For him "this suggests a concious need to block the way to the land of the dead". He concludes that "this act is basically the same as the practice, still found in Sri Lanka today, of dropping a stone into the water".

We are here concerned only with Ohno's interpretations of the purpose and meaning of dropping the stone into the water. They appear to be far fetched. He takes the literal meaning of the phrase *vāḷ nāḷ vaḻi aṭaikkum kal* in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (38) in support of his interpretation. But the whole phrase has a rather metaphorical sense. On the other hand the stone in the grave referred to by him has other meanings too. Here we are reminded of the stones erected in battle fields during ancient times. Scholars' attempt to explain the beginning of hero worship with reference to such stones should not be forgotten.

Also we wish to emphasis that the stone referred to by Ohno is a symbolic representation of the departed soul. It is considered sacred. Certain ceremonies including *pūjā* are done piously for this symbolic stone. Hence our contention is that the stone put into the water cannot be considered as one that "blocks the path between this world and the underworld".

In concluding his first paper

Ohno gives 12 corresponding events in both cultures. Similarity in them seems to be very meagre except in the use of professional mourners. Ohno may be pleased to learn that the idiom *kūlikku māraṭittāḷ* 'mourning for wage' in Tamil emerged out of a true practice that existed in the past.[12] Finally we would like to point out that the total number of events that take place during a funeral ceremony in Jaffna are very many and that Ohno has attempted to set up similarities only in 12 events.

IV

In his second paper Ohno claims that Japanese and Tamils have several shared features culturally as well as linguistically.[13] He speaks at length about the cultural correspondences between "the Tamil New Year's festival of Poṅgal and the Japanese celebration of Koshōgatsu, the celebration of Little New Year".

According to Ohno's description "Pongal is a festival held annually in the Tamil region of India and Sri Lanka. It is an ancient festival, dating from before the incursion of Aryan culture. On the fifteenth of January Tamil people make a gruel form a reddish variety of rice..... Both Poṅgal and koshōgatsu are held during the 14th, 15th and 16th of January under the solar calendar. In essence, both are New Year's supplications for bountiful harvests in the coming year.... It is only on January 14th or 15th that people celebrate the New Year". In another context he refers to this festival as "the January fifteenth New Year's agricultural festival".

It is not clear why Ohno considers Poṅgal as New Year celebration. From the point of Tamils Pongal celebrations are not the New Year celebrations. For the Tamils the dawn of New Year is not in January. New Year celebrations take place in the month of April. Pongal celebrations and New Year celebrations are markedly different in significance and practices. Most of the events that take place during New Year celebrations do not take place during Pongal celebrations.

Pongal takes place mostly on January 14th and it is commonly known as Cūriya Pongal. This celebration signifies a kind of thanks giving to nature for the (bountiful) harvest that farmers would just then have. The time of Pongal won't be appropriate for making any supplications for bountiful harvests in the coming year. It will be too early to make such supplications because harvests in the coming year will occur only after several months!

Usually people make use of the rice obtained from the recent harvest for Pongal, a kind of rice preparation with milk and other ingredients optionally used. This Pongal is usually cooked in the front courtyard of the house early in the morning as the sun rises.[14] Tamil poetry speaks of *cennel arici* 'rice obtained from a reddish variety of paddy' as the best kind and most suitable for Pongal. But this is seldom available anywhere in Jaffna.[15]

The celebration on January 15th is known as Paṭṭi Pongal. This is done in the evening near the cattle shed. The importance of cattle in an agricultural land needs no emphasis. Jaffna Tamils generally don't have any celebrations on January 16th connected with the two previous celebrations.

For Ohno there are 17 corresponding events of Koshōgatsu and Poṅgal. They are as follows:

Japan	Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka
January 14th	
1. *tondoyaki* (ritual burning of old things)	1. old possessions are burnt
2. sheds are burnt	2. cowsheds are burnt
3. firecrackers are exploded	3. firecrackers are exploded
January 15th	
4. decorations are hung	4. decorations are hung
5. fresh water drawn for the first time in the year	5. fresh water drawn for the first time in the year
6. rice gruel made with red beans is served	6. red rice gruel or bean gruel is served
7. offerings to crows	7. offerings to crows
8. people circle their houses while calling *"Hongara hongara"*	8. people circle their houses while calling *"Poṅgalō poṅgal"*
9. tree-beating	9. tree-beating
January 16th	
10. apprentices' and/or servants' holiday (a day for amusement)	10. a day for amusement
11. new clothes given to employees	11. new sarees and other clothes given as gifts
12. family gathers in parental home; visits to family graves	12. family gathers in parental home; offerings made to ancestors
13. visit by performers	13. visit by performers
14. dancing and singing	14. group dancing
15. shooting arrows	15. stick games played
16. offering to horses and cows	16. offering to cattle
17. kite-flying	17. kite-flying

Before discussing the details of these correspondences let us point out that the events do not strictly occur as scheduled above. According to the listed correspondences, serving of red rice gruel or bean gruel takes place on January 15th. Does it mean that such an event does not take place on January 14th? We have already indicated that in Jaffna society Pongal takes place mostly on January 14th. People would not like to burn their old possessions and cowsheds in that auspicious day. Such an act is considered inauspicious. Further certain events like the exploding of firecrackers, making decorations, gathering of family members in parental home, dancing, singing etc. are part of universals that occur during festive occasions in other cultures too. Most of these events take place in the Tamil society on other occasions too. For instance old possessions are burnt on the eve of the New Year in April. Decorations are hung for any celebration - even for a funeral. Rice gruel is made on New Year day too. Offerings to crows are made on particular days of fast too.

The details of the correspondences as given by Ohno have to be compared and analysed for a clear understanding of the extent to which similarities exist. Burning of old possessions and cowsheds is not part of any ritual or regular practice during Pongal celebrations in Jaffna society. This may or may not take place in a household in Jaffna whereas it is done as a ritual in Japan.

Ohno says that "fire festivals are also held in Japan on January fourteenth". We have to seriously think whether we can equate the fire festivals that take place in Japan on January fourteenth and the burning of old possessions in Jaffna. Hindus have some kind of fire festivals during other months or occasions in the second half of the year. We wish to point out categorically that to our knowledge Ohno's information that "at Jaffna, people burn old objects on the evening of January fourteenth" and that "near the city of Jaffna in Sri Lanka, on the day of the Pongal festival, cowsheds together with fencing, are burned and new ones are built" is rather inaccurate.

With regard to decorations Ohno says "on the day of Poṅgal in Sri Lanka, it is customary to cut banana plants and set them up at the door of one's home. He claims that this custom corresponds to the Japanese practice of setting up *kadomatsu* (pine trees put up at one's gate for New Year's)". Truely speaking Jaffna Tamils have this kind of decorations for a wedding or a funeral but seldom for Poṅgal. Rarely someone may set up banana trees in the location where Poṅgal is cooked but again not at the door of his home.

It is very interesting to read what Ohno says about the ritual of tree-beating and wife-spanking in Japanese culture. According to Ohno "on January fifteenth in the village of the Shizuoka area, it was once the custom among farm families for children to stir rice gruel made of red beans, and then strike fruit trees with the wet stick. As they did this one of them would chant, "Big fruit, little fruit. Did you bear? Will you bear? Bear big fruit or I'll beat your branches". More amusing is the description of the practice of wife-spanking.[16]

We have not even heard about the tree-beating or the wife-spanking practice in modern Jaffna. Of course tree-beating prevailed in some parts of Jaffna in the past. But surprisingly Ohno says that "the tree-beating ritual takes place even today in the rural areas around the city of Jaffna, Sri Lanka". The questions we would like to raise here are: Is this really a current practice? Specifically where is it done in Jaffna? Is it done as a ritual on the fifteenth of January? Who does it, the young or the old? A few other points too deserve similar questions in his paper.

Ohno cites "providing employees with new clothes, visits to parental homes, singing and dancing" as common practices in both cultures during Koshōgatsu and Pongal celebrations. But broadly speaking such practices take place commonly in several other cultures too during festive occasions. His statements like "on Pongal, in the vicinity of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, too, a man goes from door to door, playing a drum and singing songs, after which he offers celebratory words and receives a small reward", "in the Tamil speaking area of Sri Lanka, the day for amusement is the same as in Japan, the sixteenth", "on Pongal day in the Jaffna area of Sri Lanka....... a type of bullfighting takes place" need further investigation for these are not customary practices in most parts of Jaffna. The usual occasion during which new clothes are distributed as gifts is Deepavali. During other occasions such as the Pongal and the New year new clothes may or may not be distributed as gifts. Visits to parents, relatives and friends are done more enthusiastically and also as part of regular cultural practice during the New Year celebrations. Japanese may have all these during Koshōgatsu celebrations in January but with regard to Jaffna society any such undue emphasis on these practice during Pongal celebrations will be considered artificial, far fetched and even motivated.

V

In the light of what we have pointed out and discussed, we feel that some kind of re-thinking becomes essential on the authenticity of the materials gathered for investigation, the interpretation of the materials, the correspondences set up, and the methodology and the scientific approach adopted in the study. We would like to emphasise the need to draw a line between past practices and current practices, widespread practices and practices restricted to a few areas, and between common practices and uncommon practices and also to have precise statements about these practices.

NOTES

1. Susumu Ohno, Arunasalam Sanmugadas, and Manonmani Sanmugadas. 1985. World View and Rituals Among Japanese and Tamils, Gakushuin University Series 13, pp.226, Japan.

2. For instance in some contexts the author refers to the Jaffna Tamil society and in others he speaks of Sri Lankan Tamil society. See p.9. Tamil language and culture differ even within the Sri Lankan Tamil society. Among others, the Jaffna Tamil society and the Batticaloa Tamil society differ markedly in linguistic aspects and cultural practices.

3. One could see a lot of variations in funeral practices from region to region and caste to caste in Jaffna. But this does not mean that Jaffna people don't agree on any practice. It is possible to find certain practices as commoncore and project some of the variant practices as very old on time scale.

4. The name *kīḻ nilam* probably does not occur in old Tamil literary works.

5. The word *ulakam* may freely vary with the word *lōkam* in these phrases.

6. *Pandal* "shed" is a Tamil word. It has been borrowed into English too. Funeral *pandal* differs from wedding *pandal* in structure. Both types of *pandal* are referred to by different names.

7. *Pañcami* is the last five of the lunar days.

8. Nowadays people seldom have such beliefs. During the past five decades a lot of changes have taken place in the customs, manners and beliefs of the society.

9. Nowadays people especially the younger generation have a tendency to discard this traditional way of announcing one's death and to resort to new ways of expressing it especially with regard to deaths caused by the armed forces of the government in the Tamils' struggle for more rights.

10. As this point was discussed in an informal gathering a school child asserted that Jaffna and Japan are similar. Asked how, she said with all seriousness: change ff to pp and interchange the final letters na in Jaffna, you will have Japan. This explantation was according to her Tamil pronunciation of the word Japan.

11. Recollect note 2 in this context too.

12. There are several other Tamil idioms whose literal sense portray early cultural practices in Jaffna society.

13. The linguistic correspondences between Japan - Tamil will have to be reviewed in a separate paper.

14. Only the relevant details are given here from the point of our analysis.

15. The author of this paper did not have a chance to see it or taste it during the past fifty years.

16. For details of wife-spanking see pp.36-37 in Ohno's volume.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING IN TAMIL : RETROSPECTS AND PROSPECTS

K. Karunakaran

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present a brief outline of the so-called language planning that had taken place in the past, and the type of deliberate language planning activity essential for the development of Tamil in future. All those past activities concerning the development of Tamil were not deliberate and systematic. Individuals and groups belonging to various educational, social and political bodies were mainly responsible for some of the developmental programmes that had taken place in the past from time to time. There were some movements like the 'pure tamil movement' (தனித் தமிழ் இயக்கம்)which were concerned with the modernisation of Tamil from the point of view of maintaining *pure Tamil* (தனித் தமிழ்) in use, by various ways such as 'desanskritisation', 'purification', etc. There were also groups of scholars, mass media persons and others who made use of the process of 'sanskritisation' both in speech as well as in writing the Tamil language. This type of process brought into Tamil language a number of loan usages.

There were attempts by scholars and several organisations to introduce Tamil in new areas of knowledge like science, medicine, etc. as early as in the first half of the 19th century. Tamil was also introduced in various mass media channels like newspapers, journals, magazines, advertisements etc. Tamil script was also reformed several times. Due to all these attempts Tamil language underwent considerable change, especially in its use. A critical evaluation of the various programmes conducted, and studies made may reveal that language planning of some kind or other had been in practice in the past also, though not systematically, consistently and coherently.

From the point of view of prospective side of the planning, introducing the concepts of *Register*, *Discourse* etc. has not yielded satisfactory results. For successful acceptance, coined words should be transparent in meaning. This transparency may be kept more in popular writings, literature for common mass and in the introductory level and communicative acts etc. In the recent writings of scientific Tamil attempts have been made to coin only the technical terms. However, the varieties/styles and other discourse patterns are yet to be developed and standardised. Register is language according to use unlike dialect which is language according to a geographical place or a social group.

The language/variety for science, mass communication, law and administration is different for each domain. For each discourse there are different communicative acts. For example, in scientific communication, defining, proving and referencing are some of the important communicative acts. To develop Tamil for science writing/teaching, the language planner should try to define the general structure of definitions. Accordingly Tamil language structure in various levels (sentence, phrase, compounds, etc.) can be evolved. In coining technical terms loan translations had been used more productively so far.

Tamil and its Use

There had been two distinct styles in Tamil right from the beginning of its history, that is to say, 1) the literary variety used in all formal situations and 2) the colloquial variety used only in the informal contexts, situations, etc. Terms like *centamil* and *ticaiccol* are found to occur in the literature of the early period. The earliest extent Tamil grammar, Tolkappiam makes use of *centamil* to refer to the literary style and *ticaiccol* to denote the regional variants. Later day grammarians have used terms such as *koṭuntamiḻ* to refer to the common colloquial dialect. In the modern period, we come across several terms like *pēccutamiḻ, pēccuvaḻakku, vaṭṭāra vaḻakku, camūtaya vaḻakku* and so on denoting the spoken Tamil and its types; and terms like *vaṇṭamiḻ, oṇṭamiḻ,* etc. to denote the literary style. The latter type of language variety was widely used in all the formal domains of the social activities whereas the formal type was considered as *koccaitamiḻ* and so not preferred for formal use at all.

The Major Change in the Use of Tamil (With Reference to its Role)

There are several factors which either directly or indirectly contribute towards the changes reflected in the use of a language. Factors like time, domain, motivation, socio-political situations etc. contribute heavily for such changes quite often.

The role of language in the socialisation of an individual or a group is very great. The day-to-day formal functions of human beings/society have to be met with the languages they use in accordance with the language policies of the nation. After 1947, our Central and State governments have undertaken and implemented some measures to develop and promote the languages–both regional and official languages. As a general natural rule, human beings are fond of changes. They often tend to change their mode of behaviour (social and linguistic), attitudes and social interactions within and outside (inter and intra-group interactions). Consequently, the language or languages also undergo(es) changes as time passes.

Variations Reflected in the Use of the Present Day Tamil

Variations in language use are conditioned by several social factors like the domain of use, social contexts, linguistic situations (bi/multilingual) etc.

The role of English continues to have its significance in the formal use even after our independence. Before partition of the Andhra Pradesh from the Madras Presidency, though there were two major languages, it was English that performed the role of an official language.

English enjoyed a higher and prestigious status in formal use. The later day planning, especially, in administration and education aims to minimise the role of English by developing the official language and recognised regional languages in a proper and systematic way. When the government at the State wanted to develop Tamil as the State language there were many obstacles which those organisations and political parties which were started against the congress party viz., Nītikkaṭci, Cuyamariyātai Iyakkam, Dravidar Kaḻakam, etc. did not show much interest in the real development of Tamil (Sivagnanam 1987; 10-14). Along with these, there were some language attitudes which also contributed to this statement. Anti-sanskrit and anti-Hindi feelings dominated the linguistic scene and people were given the impression that by opposing the development and use of Hindi alone Tamil could be developed more effectively and efficiently for the formal use in different domains of our social activity. All these either directly or indirectly barred the real development of Tamil in formal use. Another important factor is concerned with the sociolinguistic attitude of the people, that is, even those illiterate rural folk along with the elites and others considered English as a superior language, prestigious language, adequate language etc; and the type and quality of education obtained through English medium alone are good and useful. However, after independence, we find a lot of difference in the thinking of two opposite groups viz. 1. Nationalists and 2. Linguistic protagonists. Such differences also considerably barred the development activities in general.

There are some other factors like linguistic situation of the region responsible for some of the changes taking place in language use. Tamil is not an exception to this kind of situation. Even though, it was resistant to external influences (from Sanskrit, English, etc.) it could not completely resist such influences throughout. However, when compared to other Dravidian languages like Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, the degree of impact of such an influence is found to be very low. After independence, in many of the Indian languages, expressions were coined for use in specific areas like administration, mass media, etc. These expressions were mostly coinages and only some of them were nativised forms. The administrative terminologies published by the Government of Tamilnadu, reflect this tendency adopted in the creation of terminologies and we find less amount of uniformity, simplicity and efficiency. There are many archaic usages, less common usages and redundant forms in these coinages. This action is due to the attitude we have with respect to the linguistic purification which eventually prevents language modernization. In the pre-independence period also one can observe the existence of such attitudes and there were strong advocates who argued for and against such language purification etc. Subrahmanya Bharathi clearly, emphasised the need to modernise Tamil by making uses of suitable, easily comprehensible translation, easily adoptable coinages, common usages found in the living language, etc., in many of his prose writings. Still later, Tamil scholars like S.Vaiyapuri Pillai, T.P. Meenakshisundaram and some others point out the necessity of making Tamil adequate and efficient by modernizing it. Some of their views seem to be quite essential when we think of certain reinforce-

ments, reformation etc., that have to be made in the existing Tamil use. There were scholars like Maraimalai Adigal and others who advocated language purification emphasised the need to preserve lingustic individuality in order to maintain the linguistic heritage of the Tamils and their language.

Those who favoured the maintenance of the high literary variety in formal use even did not allow the common usages from the living language to enter into its repertoire. This was another reason for less convergence and unification found among the Tamil dialects, and also between its literary and colloquial varieties. The development of Tamil for use has been made both by the ways of elaboration and simplification of systems concerned. In carrying out these processes many of the journals, writers, political leaders, social workers and others contributed their might. After independence however, the mass media started playing a significant role in popularising some of the usages in the process of educating the masses. So, in this way the development of Tamil was not restricted to certain domains only, its role was enlarged by introducing it as a *language of* administration and education.

Tamil in Administration

In a democratic country, the participation of common man in all spheres of social, economic and political activity is ensured by various legislations. However, in Indian context, the colonial language reduced this participation to greater extent. This was felt by various State Governments which resulted in the gradual replacement of English with regional languages. The Govt. of Madras, as early as 1956 brought out the Madras Official Language Act of 1956, under which Tamil was declared as the official language of the State of Madras. This act received the governor's assent on 19th January, 1957.

After the passing of the act, a committee was set up to advise the government on how to implement the Madras Official Language Act. This committee made recommendations for the speedy introduction of Tamil in administration.

The first achievement was that the small government offices were directed to use Tamil for the official correspondence in January, 1958 and later, in 1960 the following six government departments viz. i) the Collector's Office ii) R.D.O's Office iii) Taluk Office iv) Office of the District Agricultural Officer v) Office of the Executive Engineer and vi) Block Development Office were included. In the year of 1961, Tamil was further introduced as the official language at the district level in twenty one departments. In the later period, it was widely introduced in almost all fields and in this way, the introduction of Tamil in Administration got gradual but steady momentum. At present steps are being taken to make it relatively more efficient and simple. Certain governmental organisations are involved in some kind of language planning activity which could solve such of those problems that arise in the introduction of Tamil as an administrative language.

There is an urgent need for making and maintaining language use in the domain of administration. This need has arisen because of the gap found in the language when

it is brought into use. Such a need is not the need of the language, but strictly speaking, it is lack of technical terminologies in the language. And so the respective State governments did constitute various committees and also established institutions which could take care of filling up this gap in the promotion of the concerned languages. There are committees like 1. Scientific and Technical Terminological Committee, 2. Language Commissions, 3. Translation Bureaus, 4. Language Development Directorates and Institute of Languages, 5. Language Academies, 6. Text-Book Committee, 7. Lexicon Departments, etc. which are all directly involved in this type of language planning activity. In order to make the out-come worth while and useful for the society, certain reinforcements have to be made in the existing systems.

It is often said that 'construction and use of terminologies' is an important area in corpus planning (Rubin, 1975). In order to construct terminologies we have to adopt certain principles and procedures. Some of the principles suggested are as follows:

1. Principle of minimum divergence.
2. Principle of linguistic (communicative) efficiency and
3. Principle of easy acceptability and adaptability.

Principle was first formulated and adopted on the basis of the recommendations of the 'All Union Conference on the Elaboration of Terminology in Literary Languages of the Peoples of the USSR' held in Moscow in 1959. This principle states that in creating new items, first the possibilities of the vocabulary of the language in question should be fully considered and secondly if borrowing is necessary, the corresponding international or other widely known and accepted terms should be borrowed and nativised. This principle as stated here is not new to the Tamil situation or even to the Indian situation. The use of technical terminologies in Tamil through creation as well as adoption had been done by applying certain techniques. In our language, especially after our independence, a lot of changes have taken place in the domains of education and administration. Administration is one of the important activities. All the people of the nation use administrative terms in their day-to-day activities. The government and other organisations follow a set of technical terminologies in order to make the administration activity accessible to the common people. In order to maintain a close contact and understanding, it has to play a significant role. This role played by the technical terminologies would be quite successful only if proper attempts are made to formulate well balanced policies and their successful implementation. A policy will be rated high and more successful only if it is more realistic in its goals, methods and approaches. We have come across failure with regard to both formulation and implementation of the national policies in the past. All these are mainly due to the lack of realistic approach in policy formulation and techniques of implementation.

Language Planning: The Future Plan – The Theoretical Background

The vocabulary of a language represents the total concept of that

language community. However, when there is a modern concept/practice, both the term and grammar should (of that language) be evolved in such a way that new phenomena/practices are accepted along with the borrowing terms/coinage.

Standardization as spoken of in relation to linguistic phenomenon is to be understood in terms of three necessary and basic factors, namely, i) efficiency ii) Rationality (adequacy) and iii) commonality (acceptability). Also any problem of choice with regard to standardization has to be stated in terms of language maintenance and language acquisition. Standardization is one of three dimensions relevant for measuring the language development, the other two dimensions being the graphisation and modernization. In the measure of language development, Ferguson uses two dimensions. They are i) Utilization in writing which combines both graphisation and modernization. ii) Standardization. There is a four way matrix of language development namely 1) Selection of norm, 2) Codification, 3) Elaboration of function, 4) Acceptance. Of these elaboration corresponds roughly to modernization and the other three aspects to standardization. As in the case of other Indian languages, in Tamil also it was the newspapers that gave a lead in employing the educated spoken style i.e., modern literary style which avoids archaic usages and adopts necessary loan (assimilated forms) as opposed to the classical and non-classical styles which employed the patronage and favour of the poets. The tendency to use both spoken and written varieties even in formal activities is also observed in modern Tamil use. From this we can deduce that selection of a norm may vary to some extent to the nature of purpose. Since we have a very long and rich literary heritage, the selection of norm for education, administration in the highest level and other activities in higher level can be from the available styles/varieties. However the styles/registers for popular writings, mass education, mass media and other types communications may be framed from the major dialects, accepted and assimated loan usages. A multi model and multi layered standardization is inevitable in the (present) context. The process of codification for Tamil language is yet to be carried out. The third way of matrix viz., *elaboration* of function is found considerably in the use of Tamil in the last 50 years. As this matrix roughly corresponds to modernization, this has to be emphasized more in the present day language planning activity. Precise writing for science, developing new registers for media to communication local, national and international events by accepting local usages, loan words, loan creations and a style suitable to the users for the domains of law are some of the areas which require the attention of language planners.

Evaluation of the Language Planning Activity

A critical evaluation of the work done in this area shows that there are a number of short comings in these works, which need further reinforcement and feedback. The major set back was due to the type of language policies that were in force from time to time in our country. These were partly due to the failure that occurred in the implementation process. Also, there was no continuity in the planning activity itself. Because of this, effective planning and implementation were

not all possible.

Moreover, any planned activity requires proper co-ordination between the *policy making body and implementing authority.* In the case of Tamil or any other Indian language for that matter proper co-ordination was not there. So, the so-called language planning programmes could not be implemented properly.

In the recent past, however, we find a more realistic change taking place both in policy making and implementation. The present language planning also aims only at this type of trend needed for the modern development of a language. So, if proper measures are taken, to may be possible to modernise our language planning quite essential for the development of modern Indian languages.

Also this type of planning warrants effective 'status' as there well as 'corpus' planning. As far as the status planning is concerned there is only one goal namely development of Tamil for various types of modern use. The problem seems to be more complex only in corpus plannqng and actual implementation process. As there are large number of materials which need to be made fit for modern use, one has to identify different techniques and make use of them, for, modernisation has to be applied to make the data adequate, efficient and fit for use in various domains.

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ORIGIN OF THE RYOTWARI SYSTEM IN TAMILNADU

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I. Meaning of the Ryotwari System

The Ryotwari System was one of the revenue systems introduced by the colonial government in India during the early part of 19th Century. It was a settlement by the government with the ryots and excluded the intermediaries. The government received the revenue payment in the form of money assessment fixed in the agricultural lands. In fact the assessment varied depending on the varied agricultural productions every year. This system was entirely different from the Zamindary System in which the proprietary rights of the lands were conferred on an individual under the conditions of a perpetual settlement. This system was also different from the Village Lease System in which a fixed sum of revenue was imposed on each village for a period of 3 to 10 years.

The ryotwari system studied for the present paper refers to the revenue system that was introduced in the Madras Presidency under the British Colonial Rule. The peasant proprietorship of the ryotwari type in ancient South India does not come within the purview of the present discussion. In the beginning this ryotwari system was introduced in Baramahal in Salem, the Ceded Districts, Coimbatore and Carnatic. On March 6, 1792 Capt. Alexander Read was appointed as incharge of Baramahal and Salem.[1] He was assisted by Capt. Munro, Capt. Graham and Capt. Macleod. Particularly capt. Read was appointed to manage the district and introduce the revenue system. He divided the district into three divisions. The first division was the Northern Area with its headquarters at Krishnagiri. It was placed under the charge of Capt. Graham. The second division the Central Area was placed under Capt. Munro with its headquarters at Dharmapuri and the third, the Southern Area was left under the charge of Capt. Macleod with its headquarters at Salem. Capt. Read established his headquarters at Tiruppatur and carried on general supervision. He disliked the renting system introduced by Tipu Sultan's Government. He wanted to introduce an efficient system which could be very advantageous to the company rule.[2]

In the beginning Capt. Read followed the renting system for two years. It was an annual settlement. Capt. Read and his colleagues tried all they could to restrict the power of the renters and protect the ryots from their oppression. Capt. Munro rented the villages and extended the benefit of farming to all the inferior *'Patels'*.[3] The

headmen of the villages lost their influence. This policy adopted by Capt. Munro was very significant during that period. Under this system the value of land of every man who paid a single rupee of rent was ascertained and a *patta* or signed agreement was given to him by Capt. Munro. From the amount of these *pattas*, the assessment of the village and a list of the rents and names of the ryots were given to the *Patel*. The *Patel* was asked to act merely as a collector of rents and he had no authority either to raise or reduce them in any situation. The *Pattas* were given to each ryot stating the quantity of his land and the nature of his *Cowle* or agreement. The *Sarkar* received no rents directly and left the people perfect at liberty to make their own bargains.[4]

Capt. Read realised the benefits of the individual system. The intermediaries were excluded. He noted under the principles such as efficient administration, benefits to the ryots, and advantages to the government. Under these principles Capt. Read planned to introduce an efficient administrative system known as the "Ryotwari System". He distributed the lands for rent to the first and second class of ryots below the *Patels*. These ryots received the lands immediately from the government.[5] Thus they came under the protection of the District Collector and were freed from the vexation of additional assessments on every favourable crop and the profit of farming was distributed to the people.[6] The revenue officials freely visited the lands and met the ryots in person.[7] The ryots also found courage to approach them and expressed their grievances. The officials took immediate steps to redress their grievances. The ryots paid only the fixed revenue amount and they were not asked to pay even a single rupee more. It was a very elaborate process to contact 40,000 renters and it required devoted attention to the problems on hand. In fact Capt. Read personally attended to everything. As rightly remarked by Capt. Munro Capt. Read was an "Amildar".[8]

Under this system Capt. Read showed a very high revenue collection. The expected revenue collection from Baramahal when this territory passed under the British control was 2,41,660 Star Pagodas upto 1798 (Fusli 1208).[9] The Board of Revenue was much impressed by the efficient administration under Capt. Read. It was clearly reported that the enhanced revenue collection was made by the exclusion of intermediaries. Capt. Read reported that the suffering of the peasants were due to rack-renting and their payment reached the government treasury through impediments. Thus Capt. Read gave out a general declaration of the Ryotwari System to the peasants.[10]

On the other hand Capt. Munro declared that the land should be made over in perpetuity to the existing occupant. Capt. Graham also said the same view that a settlement on the system of small farms was impracticable. He advocated the distribution of lands to substantial inhabitants.[11] But later Capt. Munro accepted the principles of Capt. Read and became a strong advocate of the ryotwari system.[12] He advocated a plan to give the people the fruits of their industry and to get a permanent revenue to the government. This was true in the ryotwari settlement. The government distributed the lands to the small farmers for rent. The settlements were to

be annual. Every one was permitted to take whatever the land he pleased every year.

There was a decrease of revenue in 1796 and 1797. The ryots took the advantage of the selection of lands they threw up some lands annually and cancelled their engagements. The revenue of 1797 (Fusli 1207) fell off to 54,049 Pagodas below that of 1796 (Fusli 1206) and by more than 20,000 Pagodas below that of 1792 (Fusli 1202).[13] The Board of Revenue was very much upset by this decrease, and asked the Collector to explain the reason for the decrease.[14] In the meantime the Fourth Mysore War broke out and so all the revenue officers were called on to military duty. After that Capt. Read tendered his resignation. The Board was disappointed by his inability to submit a final report and his resignation was regretfully accepted. But this Baramahal experiment was very beneficial in the sense that the ryotwari system was successfully introducted in some modified form in other parts of the Presidency by Capt. Read's assistants.

II. First Experiment in Canara and Ceded Districts

Capt. Munro introduced the ryotwari sytem in Canara. The assessment was fixed not on each field but on each estate. Each estate had many fields such as gardens, pepper plantation, rice fields etc. The revenue amount was collected from the owner or tenant of the estate.[15] Capt. Munro advocated his views in favour of small estates. He said that security of revenue was equally good in the case of small estates. His experience in Canara strengthened his faith in the ryotwari system. He called his system as very ideal land settlement. He began his first survey in 1802 and this work continued till 1806.[16] As many as 2,08,819 farmers were secured by the *Cowle*.[17] The settlement was amounted to 14,13,614 Pagodas which showed an increase of 29,100 Pagodas. The Board of Revenue appreciated the efforts taken by Capt. Munro.[18]

In fact the experiment of Capt. Munro in the Ceded Districts was a great success. He mentioned the general amelioration and improvement of the manners and habits of the people which had grown concomitantly with the revenue. The annual revenue was collected smoothly and every one seemed to be satisfied with his situation. Generally people had great regard for Capt. Munro, the Principal Collector.[19] It was a remarkable activity to conduct an extensive survey, classification of lands and make assessments. The Board of Revenue praised Capt. Munro for his sincere efforts in this regard.

III. Introduction of this System in Tamilnadu

Col. Mecleod and Hurdis were appointed to take charge of the Northern and Southern Divisions of Coimbatore District respectively. Both of them were trained by Capt. Read. Col. Mecleod measured the extent of each field in the area and selected the most skilful of the surveyors to class the land into gradations. The assessment on each field was determined by himself. One of the important results was the discovery of the frauds of the village officers.

But Col. Hurdis adopted different lines. He calculated the capacity

of the soil and made his assessments. The government was happy with the efforts of Col. Mecleod as having ameliorated the conditions of the peasants as well as in a progressive augmentation of the revenue. In fact the increase in revenue collection, was mainly due to the extension of the cultivation. In 1803 (Fusli 1213) the land revenue exceeded the prices by 16,496 Star Pagodas.[20] But ryotwari system was not very satisfactory in Southern Coimbatore.

In 1805 both the Northern and Southern Divisions of the Coimbatore District were consolidated into one collectorship and Mr. Garrow was appointed as the Principal Collector. He carried on the Ryotwari Settlement year to year.[21] The ryots were divided into three classes. The persons who belonged to the first category were men who cultivated the lands to a considerable extent and enjoyed a good profit. The second category were those who with a very modest capital and made fair profit. Such groups made some other profits such as sale of their dairies, sale of their sheep and cattle and added their comforts. The majority of the population were of this group. The third category were those who looked to nothing beyond their daily wants and the maintenance of their families. They were poor and were provident to a certain extent.[22] Though the Coimbatore District had made good progress under the ryotwari system the Board decided to introduce triennial lease in 1808.[23] The *Pattās* were issued to 1,17,877 persons in this Dist.

The ryotwari system was introduced in the Carnatic in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The major portion of the Carnatic region comprised North Arcot, South Arcot, Nellore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly and these territories were handed over to the British by the Nawab of Arcot in 1801. The Collector recommended the introduction of the ryotwari system and the government authorised the introduction of this system with the individual ryots. A survey was made and the assessment was fixed on each description of land. The revenue was regulated on the principle of an equal division of the crop between government and the cultivators of the soil.[24] The estimate was founded on the average of the produce and the prices was settled and proper calculations were made. The revenue collection was regulated on the principle of an equal division of the crop between government and the cultivators of the soil. The assessment was supposed to be much below the former rate.

Mr. Hurdis, the Principal Collector, made the assessment after proper survey in Madura and Dindigul. The operations were carried on not only in government land but also in 12 estates. A settlement was made with each ryot separately. In the district of Nellore and Ongole the ryotwari system was introduced in 1802 (Fusli 1212) but was regulated in a manner different from other districts. This system was also introduced in the small district of Saitwaid, a part of the Carnatic in 1801. The survey of the small tract of the country was conducted in a very satisfactory manner. When this sytem was introduced in 1803 it was proved very acceptable to the people. In other districts of the Carnatic this system was partially introduced.

IV. Preliminary Survey of this System

According to the basic principles

of the ryotwari system a preliminary survey was essential before the settlement was made. Capt. Read believed that only proper and systematic survey could help him to discover the real condition of the lands. To begin with he conducted a topographical survey which was followed by a demographic and economic survey. These survey reports included the geographical information, social condition, economic standard, the products, the land tenures, the state of cultivation and other facts connected to the peasants. On the basis of these reports the British Officials understood the problems of Indian life and established an efficient revenue administration. These attempts supplied the ground work for the detailed revenue survey which Capt. Read took up in the following year.

The main object of the survey was to ascertain the *tirwa,*[25] (money survey) on particular fields. According to Capt. Read, the survey was an endeavour to attain the truth without the means of local experience and entirely by hypothesis.[26] The survey was to show the tables of the land measures and also weights and measures for different commodities. It was to include the statement of the relative quantities and price of dry and wet productions, the statistics of the progress of cultivation in every district throughout the year, the statements of the gross produce and expense of the cultivation of crops, statements of the average gross produce and average expense of cultivation as well as the cost of ploughs, the wage of labour in money or in kind and the statement of the families of the rural societies in every village.[27]

With exception of hills and rocks the extensive lands of the villages were all measured. All roads, sites of villages, beds of tanks and rivers, wastes and jungles were also included in the survey. All the cultivated lands were called by different names by the people. They were distinguished in the survey registers by different names and also a particular number was assigned to each, in the order of measurement.[28]

The method of survey varied from district to district according to the views and capacities of the collectors. It was mainly determined by local factors. Further every change of Collector was followed by a change of methods. The difficulty of conducting a full scale survey everywhere was increasingly felt. The establishment of mutual confidence between the ryots and the government by showing each party what belonged to it was another objective of the ryotwari survey. It is important to note that the survey was not intended for increasing the amount but for that of enabling the government to avoid over-taxation.

V. The Revenue Settlement

Different methods of ryotwari settlement were adopted in different ryotwari districts. The main principle of this system was the individuality of contribution and responsibility and a fixed rate of demand or a fixed amount in money on each portion of land occupied for cultivation by an individual. Capt. Read followed the principle of reducing the estimated full crop to the average price of years to constitute the revenue. The assessment was 2/3 of the average crops. This was raised or lowered according to the descriptions of lands.

In fixing the average produce of each field in favourable seasons, the assessor was guided by his own judgement of the nature and situation of the soil, by the crop or stubble on the ground or by the information of the people on the spot. The second step was to deduce the average produce in all seasons, including good, bad and indifferent years. For this purpose it was assumed that an average year's produce was equal to 11/16 of a full dry crop and 11/13 of a full wet crop. The third step was relating to the conversion of the average produce into money. Regarding the wet lands attention had to be paid to two important points. The first was the sources of irrigation and the second the amount of the ryots' labour expended to utilise them. In the lands watered by superior rivers the ryots share was 55% and the government's share was 45%. In the lands irrigated by inferior rivers the ratio was 60:40 and in the lands irrigated from tanks the ratio was 621/2:371/2. In some other lands both tank and well were used for irrigation. In the lands of that type the ryot's share was fixed at 70% to 30%.

In finalising the ryotwari settlement Capt. Munro followed three modes of settlements. The first was to make the Mouzawar Settlement'[29] of a whole district and then to proceed to the Kulwar Settlement.[30] The second was to finalise the settlement of one village and then to make individual settlement in the same village before moving to another. The third was to calculate the individual settlement in one village separately and then by adding their assessment together to make the village settlement. It is very interesting to note that once the country had been surveyed the individual settlement was more convenient.

VI. Consequences of the New Revenue System

The ryotwari system provided an economic frame that was different from all old system of land tenure. This new system influenced the factor of production and distribution of wealth. In Baramahal a great part of the land most suitable for cultivation was left to follow. Poverty prevented the ryot from making the land productive and high assessment deprived him of the fruits of his labour. Attempts were made to improve agriculture by introducing new commercial crops. The cultivation of indigo and potatoes were introduced. Abee Dubois reported that he saw that there were good possibilities of agriculture in Baramahal.[31] Capt. Read advised distribution of mulberry and nopal plants among the ryots. Thus the cultivation was extended in different parts of the country and as a result the economic condition in some rural areas was developed and economic activities expanded.

In North Arcot agricultural conditions were somewhat better. There was a perceptible anxiety of parties to retain possession of their lands and of others who under the leases had been deprived of the management of their villages. They came forward with their engagements for cultivating land. A factor which enabled the ryots readily to pay their assessments was the unusual high price of produce during the past season.[32] In the districts of Madura and Dindigul cultivation was extended by distributing increased number of *Pattas* among the ryots.[33] In Dindigul the wet land was assessed

at a higher rate than in Madura and Coimbatore. The result was that all these lands, which from their high assessment could be considered the best were thrown up and the ryots cultivated lowly assessed but poorer lands.

In some districts the ryotwari system did not result in increased agricultural output. In certain areas, owing to local circumstances, agriculture made some progress but in thousands of such cases failure was more common than success. In Coimbatore district the progress was satisfactory. More and more lands were brought under cultivation. It is interesting to note that the flourishing agriculture of Coimbatore depended largely on favourable assessments compared with other districts. From the study of the conditions in several districts show that the agriculture was closely linked with ryotwari settlement. The extension of cultivation varied with the proportion of assessment. The lowly assessed areas were well cultivated and in place where the ryotwari assessment was excessive cultivation was restricted.

In the early years of the ryotwari system the population was small in proportion to the land. It was due to political turmoil. So an attempt was made to increase the population of the districts. Every encouragement was given to the new settlers and small advances of *taccavi* in money or in grain were given.[34] The ryots were given lands on easy terms. Further the collection of revenue suffered much from the ryots habit of migrating from one village to another. Such migrations generally took place during March or April every year.[35] Col. Graham adopted some amount of restraint to check this restless spirit.

As the lands in the ryotwari districts generally did not become saleable owing to high assessments and other factors like the depression, the granting of *taccavi* continued to be a feature of the ryotwari administration. The problem of agricultural indebtedness could not be solved by this new system. The fall of indigenous cotton industry as a result of the import of goods from Europe indirectly spoiled the normal credit facilities of the ryots. Trade in all districts was affected and money circulation was practically stopped. The ryots relinguished their grain and became prey in the hands of the money lenders.

VII. Changing Structure of the Society

The population in the districts varied. In general society composed of three classes in rural areas. This division was based on social and economic status of the ryots. The first class of people belonged to different castes who followed occupations other than cultivation. They hired the *zudgars*, i.e. hired labourers, to cultivate their lands. The second class was called *kudis* or farmers. They worked in the fields. The third class was composed of *zudgars.*[36] They worked for wages and their wages were different in every village. The poverty of this class drew the attention of all the officials.

The above classes could also be differentiated by their ability to pay revenue. The first group paid their dues out of the savings they had. The second class of people had no other means and so they were forced to dispose of their produce preserving only enough for their subsistence and for seedgrain

for the next crop. The last group had no credit facilities and so they were obliged to part with all they had.

Capt. Read had noticed varied standard of living in Baramahal. He distinguished two standards. The first group were people with only necessities of life and could be called the subsistence level. In fact they formed the majority of the population. The second group were those who had the means requiring for buildings and household utencils, ornaments and observance of festivals and ceremonies. They could afford to enjoy comforts and could lead a life of comparative luxury.

In the Ceded Districts also Capt. Munro divided the ryots into three classes. The first class formed 20% of the population and paid 35% of the revenue. The second class formed 45% of the population and paid 45% of the revenue and the third class formed 35% and paid 20%. The condition of the people was not much satisfactory. The second and the third class people had merely enough after paying their dues to maintain their families. The lowest class generally worked as hired labourers. Capt. Munro observed that the labourers were eager to become independent farmers. They took a few acres of land from the government and started farming. If they were successful they continued but in case of failure they sold their stock to pay their dues and turned to be labourers again.[37]

The condition of the slaves was little improved. They had a share of the produce, generally an eighth, and in some cases lands were given to them. But in many places, where actual slavery did not exist, a kind of bondage was introduced by the ryots. In fact one of the basic principles of the ryotwari system was that of the freedom of labour.[38] The policy of the government was not in favour of slavery and orders were given that slaves should not be sold for arrears of revenue.[39] The individuals were allowed to contract, for a given sum, to labour for a fixed period of time. Such contracts should be in writing and binding only upon the individual who executed it and not upon the family, his wife and the children. The slaves were declared free to sell their own properties without any interference on the part of their masters.[40]

One of the important effects of this new system was that the ryots were freed from the clutches of the heads of the villages at whose mercy they had hitherto lived.[41] This system rectified the social dislocation and social mobility. The collectors took remedial measures and guarded against any infraction of the landed tenures of the country. Capt. Munro wrote that the ryot had a certain degree of pride in being a government tenant.[42] In 1897 the Government of Madras noted the general amelioration and improvement of the manners and habits of the inhabitants of the Ceded Districts which had kept pace with the increase of revenue under the ryotwari system.

Under the ryotwari system much care was taken not to wound the religious sensibilities of the people. In 1798 Col. Graham recommended that each temple should be liberally endowed by the government. The rural society held their new white rulers in great awe and esteem in their minds as the British in India

were associated with great power and glory. As the ryotwari system brought them into direct contact with the British they were much satisfied. The confidence in them and in their new system gave them a happy and contented life.

Much attention was paid to the due performance of the religious ceremonies. The government had sometimes to authorise disbursement for occasional religious rites to satisfy popular sentiment. Though there were no changes relating to the people's food, clothing, shelter and other habits there were changes in behaviour and attitude. The economic condition in some village was deplorably bad. In 1806 the Collector of Bellary observed that the ryots were poorly clad and ill-fed due to their extreme poverty. In the same year the Collector of North Arcot observed that many houses of the ryots ware without roofs. There was no noticeable improvement in their economic standard.

Conclusion

Thus ryotwari system was nothing but settlement with the individuals and excluded the intermediaries. Under this new system the government collected the revenue directly from each individual ryot. The ryotwari administration fully restored the confidence of the people and they were able to attend their cultivation with less disturbance from outside. Some of the ryotwari officials believed that improvement in agriculture and high assessments reciprocally promoted each other. But in fact the natural result of the high assessment was defective agriculture and poor yield from the soil. Poverty prevented the ryot from making the land productive and the high assessment deprived him of the fruit of his labour.

In Coimbatore and Carnatic the ryotwari system of revenue administration helped the extension of cultivation. The cultivation everywhere was stepped up by making the peasants cultivate a required extent of land. But the peasants, in many cases, were left at liberty to extend or contract their cultivation every year in the way they might think most advantageous for them. From the study of the conditions in the several districts the fact that emerges in that agriculture was closely linked with the proportion of assessment. That is, the lowly assessed areas were well cultivated and in places where the ryotwari assessment was extensive the cultivation was restricted.

The authors of the ryotwari system did not seem to realize that novelties should be slowly grafted on an integrated with, the existing life of the people. On the other hand, under the ryotwari system, changes were in many cases sought to be imposed without reference to the pre-existing institutions. In spite of the lenient policy pursuaded towards *mirasidars* and other headmen they could not completely regain the power and privileges which they had lost under the old system.[43] To this extent the ryotwari system disturbed the social harmony which existed before its introduction. Although attempts were made to cut at the root of the power and influence of the headman, there was evidence of their influence continuing in a subtle manner. But generally the headmen as a class lost in importance and power. Ryots, by their direct relationship with the government, gained something which formerly they did not possess. This was implicit

in the introduction of the ryotwari system.

As mentioned in the earlier pages this ryotwari system brought the peasants into direct contact with the British and they had direct dealing with the revenue administration. They imagined that such contact added to their stature also in a way that was not possible when they were under the local renters, however powerful and good. Under this system care was taken not to interfere into the religious and other ceremonies. The maintenance of the religious institutions under the ryotwari system impressed the ryots with a sense of the superior benefits they enjoyed in new dispensation.

Throughout the period under study the privileges of certain castes were recognised under the ryotwari system. Some of the ryotwari administrators raised objections against this practice. The influence of some of the privileged castes was too great to be ignored by the administration. The collectors thought it advisable to conciliate the members of this influential section of the society by giving them the usual remissions and assessing them comparatively favourable.

It was observed that no major change in the habits and customs of the people occurred by the introduction of this new system. Even in Coimbatore, where ryotwari system had a long run and where its working was fairly satisfactory, the Collector noticed and material change in the people's dress. Only those farther up the social and economic scale appeared to be better clothed. The new system released no energies which could have brimmed over into lusty living. In 1806 the Collector of South Arcot noted the miserable condition in most of the villages. Even the system caused no change in the popular habits of diet. But in some places, owing to the defective functioning of the ryotwari system, the condition of the people was especially depressed.

Judging by the evidences it may be concluded that the ryotwari system affected the social structure and not the normal life in the country. The ryotwari officials refrained from intrusion into the areas of religion, culture and also into the areas of the social and private life of the rural population. In broad terms it may be said that the complex pattern of the rural society was affected little by the general introduction of the individual settlement. Even in regions where this system was operating with success the habits of the people and their standard of life were not much altered. But the social fabric was certainly affected by the new revenue system and revenue administration but the process of change was certainly slow.

NOTES

1. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Mr. Barry close to Capt. Read Dt. March 31, 1792.

2. *Baramahal Records*, Sec. VI, Letter from Capt. Read to Col. Maclod, dt. Jan. 27, 1796.

3. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Capt. Munro to the Board dt. Aug. 25, 1806. Headman were called *'Patels*. They collected rents from the peasants and also responsible for general supervision of the revenue administration.

4. Letter from Capt. Munro to the Board, dt. Aug. 25, 1806.

5. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Capt. Read to Mr. David Haliburton, dt. Aug. 10, 1794.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Board's consultations*, Vol. No. 69, p. 1779, (of year '1794).

8. *Letter from Capt. Munro* to Capt. Allan, dt. Dec. 26, 1793.

9. Boards Consultations, Vol. No. 230 of 1794, p. 3402.

10. Arbuthnot, *Sri Thomas Munro*, Vol. II, pp. 341-348, London 1881. (Selections from Minutes and other *official writings, ed. by* Mr. Arbuthnot).

11. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Graham to Read, dt. Aug. 24. 1797.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Report of the Board of Revenue*, 1797, Vol. IV, p. 76.

14. *Board's Consultations*, Vol. No. 210, 1798, p.7121.

15. *General Reports of the Board of Revenue*: Vol. No.27, 1792, p.272.

16. *Report of the Board of Rev.* dt. Oct. 10, 1807, Vol. 13, p.16.

17. *Cowle* meant promise, agreement or contract.

18. *Revenue Despatches to England.* dt. March 23, 1804, Vol. No.8 pp.62-63.

19. *Ibid.*, dt. Oct. 21, 1807.

20. *Revenue Consultations*, June 2, 1804, Vol. No. 134, p.1361.

21. *Board's Consultations*, Vol. No. 707, p.1816.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 1816.

23. *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1808, Vol. 459, pp.755-56.

24. Revenue *Despatches to England*, March 23, 1804, Vol.8, pp.73-74.

25. *Tirwa* or *Teerwa* means money survey.

26. *Baramahal Records*, Section VI, Letter from Read to Macleod, dt. Jan. 29, 1796.

27. *Ibid.*, Read to Lord Cornwallis, d. July 1, 1793.

28. *Capt, Munro's Report*, dt. July 26, 1807.

29. *Mouzawar Settlement* means a Village Settlement.

30. Kulwar Settlement means Individual Settlement.

31. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Dubois to Hamilton, Dec. 8, 1796.

32. *Board's Consultations*, Vol. 926, dt. 10.10.1822.

33. *Pattas* means a lease granted to the cultivators on the part of the government.

34. *Baramahal Records*, Letter from Graham to Read, dt. Oct. 22, 1794. *(Taccavi* means advance of money granted to the tenants

for cultivation when necessary means are wanting).

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Zudgars* means hired labourers.

37. *Letter from Munro to his father* Sep. 21, 1798.

38. *Capt. Munro's Report,* dt. Aug. 25, 1805.

39. *General Reports of the Board of Revenue,* Vol. 27, p.372 dt. Jan, 3, 1820.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Board's Consultations,* Vol. 429, p. 4053, dt. July 17, 1806.

42. *Ibid,* Vol. No. 416, p. 7085, Sep. 26, 1805.

43. *Mirasidar* means the proprietor of land.

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ANTI-HAEMOLYTIC EFFECT OF *GYNANDROPSIS GYNANDRA*, (L) BRIQ.

P. Surendrakumar & J. Sadique

Lysosomes play a key role in the inflammatory process (Hess *et al*, 1972). During inflammation, lysosomal enzymes are released owing to labilisation of lysosomes (Hess *et al*, 1972). The structure of red blood cells (RBC) membrane is similar to the lysosomal membrane components (Hess *et al*, 1972). So, the membrane stabilising activity of the Petroleum ether, Benzene, Chloroform extracts of *Gynandropsis gynandra*, (L.) Briq. was studied, against chemical and physical denaturations. Because it is believed that, by stabilising human red blood cell membranes, lysosomal membranes can also be stabilised. So, the release of lytic enzymes from lysosomes can also be prevented during inflammation. *G. gynandra* is mentioned to be useful in arthritic ailments in Indian system of Medicine (Murugesa Mudaliyar, 1969). This plant belongs to the family Capparidaceae. It's Tamil name is Thaivezhai.

MATERIALS AND METHODS:

Solvent Extractions

G. gynandra was collected from Tamil University herbal garden in the month of August. The plant was identified and herbarium sheet was prepared. The whole plant was shade dried and powdered. The crude powder (100g) was extracted with Petroleum ether in Soxhlet apparatus for a period of 8 hours. It was then followed by extraction with Benzene, Chloroform and 80% alcohol consecutively, for similar periods. The extracts were evaporated to dryness in a flash evaporater under vacuum. The percentage yield of different extracts were: Petroleum ether 1.54%, Benzene 1.34%, Chloroform 1.20% and alcohol 9.31%.

Hypotonicity Induced Lysis

Fresh blood from healthy human volunteers was collected in Alsever solution and used within 5 hours. The preparation of cell suspension was carried out as described by Murugesh *et al* (1981). The hyposaline induced haemolysis was evaluated by the method of Roelofsen *et al* (1971). Different concentrations (100 g to 1000 g) of the Petroleum ether, Benzene, Chloroform extracts of *G. gynandra* dissolved in isosaline were incubated after making the volume to 3.5 ml using isosaline with 0.5 ml of 10% HRBC in 0.15 M phosphate buffer (pH-7.4) at 37°C for 30 min. The control tube that contained no drug was used to represent 100% HRBC lysis. The released haemoglobin was measured at 560 nm. From that, the percentage prevention of haemolysis by these drugs was calculated.

Assay of Inhibition of Phospholipase A2

Phospholipase A2 was prepared from lyophilsed cobra-venom (Jayaraman, 1981). The inhibition of the haemolytic effect of phospholipase A2 on HRBC system was studied using varying concentrations of the different extracts of *G. gynandra.*

The assay mixture contained 150 µg, lecithin, 750 µg enzyme protein in 0.04 M Veronol buffer (pH-7.4) (Diethylbarbituarate 0.27%, Na_2CO_3 0.18%, $CaCl_2$ 0.01%, $MgCl_2$ 0.05% and NaCl 4.2%) and various concentrations of different extracts of *G. gynandra* were added to a final volume of 2 ml. 1 ml of 0.9% saline washed HRBC (10^8 cells/ml) was added to start the reaction. The tubes were incubated at 52°C for 30 min. and then kept at 4°C for 20 min. One tube was kept as control without drug. Then it was centrifuged for 10 min. and the resulting colour in the supernatant due to the lysolecithin caused lysis of haemoglobin was measured at 560 nm.

The percentage inhibition of phospholipase A2 activity per mg enzyme protein was calculated using the following formula

$$100 - \frac{\text{Reading of the drug treated sample}}{\text{Reading of the control}} \times 100 \times \frac{1000}{\text{mg enzyme protein}}$$

Results and Discussion

Among the three extracts of *G. gynandra*, Petroleum ether extract was able to stabilise 85.5% of human erythrocyte membranes against hypotonicity induced lysis at 600 µg concentration (Fig. 1). The maximum inhibition of Benzene and Chloroform extracts was 85.0% and 87.5% at the concentrations 400 & 600 µg.(Fig. 2&3). Concentrations between 400 to 600 µg the inhibition of lysis was maximum because, these concentrations might have increased the 'Critical hemolytic Volume' (Vc). The mechanism of stabilization of erythrocyte membrane was attributed to the fact that the compounds increase the 'Vc' of the erythrocyte (Gryglewski, 1975). At lower concentrations these extracts might have over-expanded the membrane and increased the permeability which resulted in lysis of the cell. In hyposaline treated HRBC, it may be explained that the osmotic swelling is due to the hypotonicity and the cell volume is higher than that of normal erythrocyte resulting in the burst of the cell. So, the extracts of *G. gynandra* between 400-600 µg. concentrations has maintained the cell volume and the outer surface of the HRBC. It can be concluded that these extracts are able to maintain the structural integrity and confirmation of HRBC during hypotonicity induced stress. Since RBC membrane system resembles the lysosomal membrane system (Hess *et al*, 1972), these observations can be extrapolated to lysosomal system. So, it is evident that these extracts may exert anti-inflammatory activity.

From Table 3, it can be noted that Chloroform extract of *G. gynandra* maximally inhibited the phospholipase A2 enzyme activity at 250 µg/ml (32.2%). Benzene extract has inhibited to a maximum of 28.5% at 1000 µg/ml. This extract showed dose dependent inhibition. It was

:9.3% for Petroleum ether extract at 1000 μg/ml. Phospholipase A2 is involved in the synthesis of prostaglandins. This enzyme acts on membrane phospholipids resulting in the formation of arachidonic acid, which is the precursor of prostaglandins. There are evidences to suggest that the mechanism of action of anti-inflammatory corticosteriods is through an interference with phospholipase A2 activity (Heng *et al*, 1976; Flower, 1977). In the present experiment lecithin was used as the substrate. The cobra-venom derived phospholipase A2 was used as the enzyme source. This enzyme acts in lecithin to produce the lysolecithin which is having the properties of lysing the human erythrocyte membrane in *vitro*. It has been reported that lysoecithin has both pro-inflammatory and anti-inflammatory properties and therefore possesses all characteristic of a modulator of inflammation (Seeman, 1966). So, it is conceivable that the extracts of *G. gynandra* might have exerted anti-inflammatory activity by inhibiting phospholipase A2 activity which is involved in the formation of lysolecithin or arachidonic acid.

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Table 1

Effect of Petroleum ether extract of *G. gynandra* on the inhibition of phospholipase A2 activity.

Drug concentrations μg/ml	Inhibition of phospholipase A2 (%)
Control	0.0
100	6.2
250	9.6
500	16.3
750	18.8
1000	19.3

Table 2

Effect of Benzene extract of *G. gynandra* on the inhibition of phospholipase A2 activity.

Drug concentrations μg/ml	Inhibition of phospholipase A2 (%)
Control	0.0
100	18.5
250	19.3
500	20.5
750	26.9
1000	28.5

Table 3

Effect of Chloroform extract of *G. gynandra* on the inhibition of phospholipase A2 activity.

Drug concentrations µg/ml	Inhibition of phospholipase A2 (%)
Control	0.0
100	23.4
250	32.2
500	29.5
750	20.7
1000	21.5

GRAPHS FOLLOWS

FIG-1

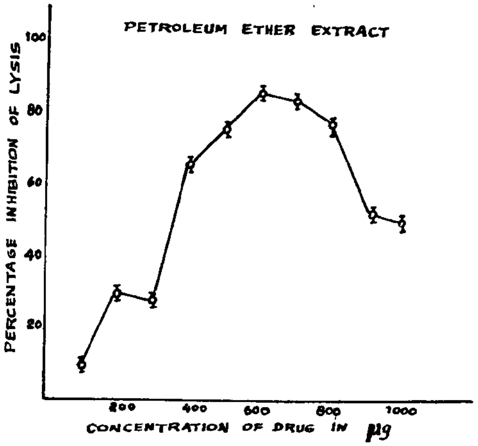


FIG-2

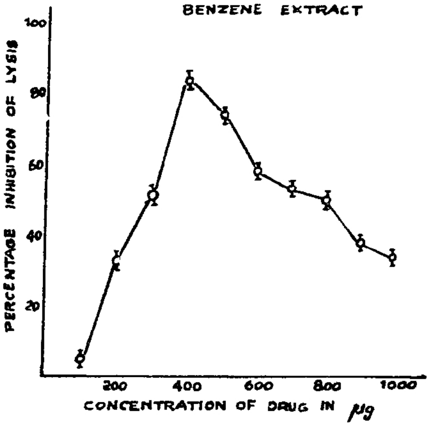
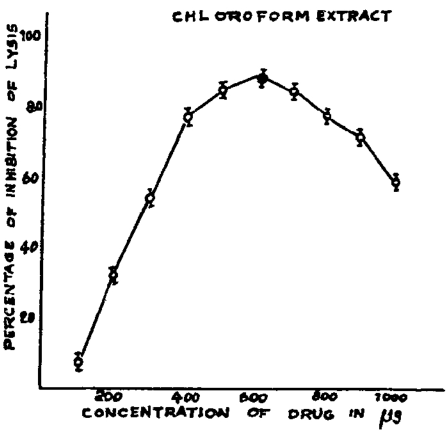


FIG-3



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STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY: AGRARIAN AND POLITICAL ROOTS OF WARRIOR CHIEFDOMS

Venkata Raghotham

I. Introduction: The Problem of Structural Change

Medievalists of South India have to contend with one of the most vivid and complex problems of Tamil history: the emergence of warrior controlled chiefdoms under the hegemony of powerful personages known as *nāyakās* during the late medieval period of South Indian history (circa A.D. 1350-1565). Historians have attempted to analyze the political structure of warrior chieftaincies using the concepts of 'war state' and 'feudal polity'; both these concepts have been shown to have been inadequate. Scholars such as Robert Sewell, Nilakanta Sastri, Krishnaswami and others have viewed the rise of warrior chiefdoms as the direct consequence of the advent of the militaristic Vijayanagara state. (Raghotham 1987:20-45). This approach has resulted in the two hundred years of Vijayanagara rule over the Tamil country being seen as a disjunctive phase in the history of the region. In contrast to such an interpretation, it is argued in this paper that the agrarian and political roots of the post-Cōḻa warrior polities may be traced to the structural changes that took place in the Tamil country during the 13th century A.D. The decline of the Cōḻa state in that century laid the foundations for the post-Cōḻa warrior states. Underlying the search for the political roots of warrior chiefdoms is the larger question of pan-regional state formation. The political focus of the post-Cōḻa, Vijayanagara state lay in the distant valley of the Tungabhadra river located in the very edge of the South Indian peninsula. In order to analyze the internal structure of the Vijayanagara state, and its underpolity of chieftaincies, it is necessary to determine the factors inherent in the early Vijayanagara state which propelled it dramatically toward the Tamil country. Unlike earlier historians who analyzed the expansion of the early Vijayanagara state solely in terms of a Hindu reaction to the emergence of Muslim sultanate states in the Deccan, it is argued in this paper that the outward thrust of Vijayanagara power from its royal-core in the Tungabhadra region was fuelled by dynastic and political rivalries within the ruling Caṅkam family. Thus the historical process underlying the rise of warrior chiefdoms has two divergent foci. Political and agrarian changes within the Tamil region, and the tensions in the ruling Vijayanagara family need to be considered in order to explicate the structures of warrior polities.

Beginning in the early 13th

century, a number of important changes took place in the Tamil country which resulted in the break-up of the Cōḻa state.[1] First, inscriptions of the period reveal the existence of a level of supra-local agrarian and political managers known as the *periyanāṭṭār* (Stein 1980:216-33). Second, during the 13th century a number of social groups which had been peripheral groups during the Cōḻa period began to acquire political and economic strength which enabled them to challenge effectively the dominance of the right hand (*valaṅkai*) peasantry (*ibid:* 182). The most significant of the new social groups were the Vaṉṉiyars. Third, the long-standing peasant assembly dominated by right hand Tamil peasantry--the *nāṭu* --lost its status as the most powerful peasant institution, and its functions were transferred to individual allied with the *periyanāṭṭār*. Finally, during the 13th century the political focus of the Tamil peasantry shifted from the Kāvēri delta to the dry tract of North and South Arcot. The cumulative effects of these developments were the erosion of the Cōḻa state and the emergence of warrior chieftains who seized the territory of the erstwhile Cōḻa monarchs and transformed it into a number of warrior domains.

In order to assess the significance of the changes mentioned in the preceding paragraph it would be necessary to provide a short sketch of the political and agrarian context in which they occurred. The Tamil country during the medieval period was a peasant based agrarian economy. The basic building blocks of the peasant economy which were small, highly fragmented peasant micro-regions known the *nāṭus* (*ibid:*90). Inscriptions from the Cōḻa period reveal the existence of nearly 550 *nāṭus*. The *nāṭu*, consisted of three constituent elements. It had a fairly large and ethnically homogeneous population which was divided into two classes. The prestigious land controlling peasants or *veḷḷāḷars* formed the *Valaṅkai* division of Tamil peasant society. The *Valaṅkai* division formed the social grouping from which the dominant peasantry of the *nāṭa*, known as the *nāṭṭār*, drew their support. In opposition to the right hand social groups were the left hand (*Iḍaṅkai*) groups such as merchants, weavers, metal smiths, and artisans. In terms of population the *nāṭu* consisted of both right hand and left hand groups. The second element was the political leadership of *natu* territories. From the dominant right hand social group of the *nāṭus* emerged a lineage (*paṅkāḷi*) whose head or chieftain was also the chieftain of the *nāṭu*. Chieftains whose political support was derived from the dominant locality lineage were identified in the inscriptions of the period as *aracar araiyar*, *utaiyāṉ* (Stein 1976:73). Locality chieftains in alliance with the dominant peasantry (*nāṭṭār*) controlled the agrarian economy of localities by manipulating the intricate system of land rights (*kāṉiyāṭci*) and by redistributing surplus gathered from the cultivating peasants (*kuṭimakkaḷ*) in such schemes as land reclamation, improvements in local irrigation works and temple construction. The final constituent of a *nāṭu* was the ritual or sacerdotal settlement inhabited by brahmanas. Known as *brahmadēyas*, brahmana settlements were supported by grants of land made to assemblies of brahmanas (*Sabhai*) by locality chieftains and the Cōḻa kings. (Stein 1980: 151).

The landhold structure of the *nāṭu was extremely* complex. Land was collectively managed by groups of dominant peasants (*nāṭṭār*) who held extensive tracts of land as

kāniyāṭci. Holders of *kāniyāṭci* rights were entitled to nearly three-fifths of the produce of the land as *mēlvāram* or top share (*ibid:* 168). The cultivating peasants retained the other two-fifths as Kīlvāram or lesser share (*ibid:* 192). In addition, holders of *kāniyāṭci* rights were entitled to draw from the underlying peasant and artisanal population a variety of local dues such as *ālmanje* (labor), *āyam* (a local due), *nāṭṭu viniyōkam* (a levy imposed by the *nāṭṭār*), *nūlāyam* (a levy collected from the local weavers), and *cekkukaṭamai* (a levy collected from oil merchants). These levies were collected either in cash or in kind. Alongside the *nāṭṭār* as a land controlling institution were two other institutions--*brahmadēyas* and temples. *Brahmadēya* and temple land tenures were in the form of eleemosynary tenures and were managed by the *sabhai* (*ibid:* 156). Support to *brahmadēyas* and temples by dominant peasant groups, merchants, kings and chieftains made both these institutions important centres of economic integration.

The relationship between highly localized peasant territories and the Cōla state has been a subject of dispute amongst historians. Earlier historians like Mahalingam, Nilakanta Sastri and Subramanya Aiyer interpreted the *nāṭu* as an administrative unit of a centralized bureaucratic state (Stein 1976: 64-91). This interpretation has been challenged by Burton Stein who has pointed out that the inscriptions dealing with the *nāṭu* do not record any administrative functions carried out at the behest of agencies located outside of the boundaries of the *nāṭus* in which they were inscribed (*ibid:* 111). The offices of the *ūr kanukku* and the *nāṭu kanukku* which were respectively the offices of the village accountant and the nāṭu accountant were held by individuals who were linked with the dominant peasant groups of the localities (*ibid:* 120). The *nāṭu* as Burton Stein has shown was the arena of peasant politics whose internal structure was predicated upon the existence of territorially segmented peasant lineages (*ibid:* 117). The external linkages between the *nāḍus* and the wider world of the Cōla state was achieved through ritual means. The *nāṭu* based peasant chieftains and their peasant allies, the *nāṭṭār*, joined with the Cōla kings in supporting the *brahmadēya* settlements and temples. Copper plate inscriptions of the Cōla period such as the Larger Leiden grant, the Karandai plates, the *Tiruvālaṅkāṭu* copper plates show that the locality chieftains expressed their subordination to the Cōla king by being the primary recipients of the royal orders (*tiruōlai*) (*ibid:* 359) establishing new brahmana settlements. The ritual and service linkages between locality based peasant chieftains and the Cōla state were the only tangible links that are revealed in the inscriptions of the period. Thus, Burton Stein has argued that, 'boundaries of each territorial unit were defined by interactions between the dominant peasant folk and those dependent upon them--artisans, merchants, and laborers--as well as with Brahmanas with whom the peasant groups were allied' (*ibid:* 104).

The presence of well defined ethnic units of the peasant society, absence of effective economic and administrative linkages with the royal capital in the form of orderly transfer of resources through a taxation or revenue system, together with the ritual preeminence of the Cōla king raises the important ques-

tion of state form. What kind of a state was the Cōḷa state? The model of a centralized-bureaucratic polity used by earlier historians has been rejected by Stein who has put forward the hypothesis that the South Indian states of the medieval period--Cōḷa and Vijayanagara--were segmentary states *(ibid:*366-415). The concept of a 'segmentary state' is derived from the political anthropology of African states particularly the 'Alur state' of East Africa. The concept of a segmentary state has been shown by historians and anthropologists to provide a reliable theoretical framework for analyzing political systems which lack: (a) a well organized administrative system, (b) monopoly over coercive power, and (c) taxation system. The salient features of a segmentary state formation are (1) limited territorial sovereignty which is absolute at the center of the political system but shades into ritual hegemony at the periphery, (2) the presence of numerous peripheral foci of power under the authority of chieftains which were (3) replicated versions of the state as a whole and (4) flexible and fluctuating state of political relations making the political structure gragile and dynamic *(ibid:*265).

The characteristics enumerated above have been analyzed by Burton Stein on the basis of evidence dating to the Cōḷa and Vijayanagara periods. The Cōḷa and its successor the Vijayanagara stated had one center of ritual power which was the ruling king himself. The king was the center of the political system in a ritual and in an ideological sense in that the acceptance of his hegemonic and dharmic claims by peasant chieftains defined the scope of the realm as a whole. At the political cores of the Cōḷa and the Vijayanagara states which were respectively the royal cities of Thanjavur and Vijayanagara, the king enjoyed virtually absolute power, whereas in the peripheral parts of the state his authroity was merely nominal and shaded into ritual sovereignty. Burton Stein has pointed out that South Indian kings were in all cases effectively in control of only a small portion of the macroregion, and the legitimacy of their hegemonic claims--which were ceremonial rather than real in any case--could be recognized by local rulers and chieftains far removed from this core of real power *(ibid:*327). Further, the discrete *nāṭu* units, each controlled by a peasant chieftain, were peripheral foci of power in that each *nāṭu* unit was a self-contained replication of the pan-regional state system. Just as the locality chieftain and his landed peasant allies (the *nāṭṭār)* were the dominant political and agrarian force at the *nāṭu* level, likewise the Cōḷa king and his allies were the *nāṭṭār* of the central *nāṭus* of the Cōḷa country. The dynamic and flexible nature of political relations between the Cōḷa kings and their peasant-chiefain allies is evidenced in the fact that in the 13th century, as will be shown later in this paper, chieftaincies which were once linked with Cōḷa kingship shifted their allegiance to the Pandyas and their Simhalese allies.

Throughout the early medieval period of South Indian history, the stability of the Cōḷa state was maintained by means of an extensive system of subordinate alliances between Tamil peasant chiefly lineages and the ruling Cōḷa family. In the Kāvēri heartland of the Cōḷa state and in the intermediate zone of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the Cōḷas constructed an extensive network of subordi-

nate alliances through matrimonial ties. The peculiar feature of Tamil kinship was the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage (Trautman 1980). Cola monarchs took brides from dominant peasant lineages such as the Malanāḍu, Koḍumbullūr, Pallavarāyar, Adaigamān, and Vēlir lineages. Multiple marriages between Cōḻa kings and peasant elites strengthened the political fabric of the state, which enabled the Cōḻa kings to activate the political connections of Tamil peasant chieftains for their military and royal ambitions. Nilakanta Sastri (1955:187) has drawn attention to the matrimonial alliance between the Paluvettaraiyar chieftains and the Cōḻa dynasty during the reign of King Parāntaka I (A.D.907-55). The lengthy Pallavarāyanpettai inscription of Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1163-1174) reveals that the daughter of Vēdavānam-Uḍaiyār, a Pallavarāyar chieftain, was the queen of the Cōḻa king Rājātirājā II (*EI* XXI: 184-93). Subbarayalu (1975:77-83) has observed that matrimonial ties linked the chiefly lineages of the Muttaraiyar, Vānātarāyars, and the Kātavarāyars with the Cōḻa family. Matrimonial ties with subordiante chiefly families strengthened Cōḻa kingship and state at its very center, the Kāvēri Delta. Further, the reliable network of alliances which bound the center of the Cōḻa state to the more peripherally located territories provided a tight cordon of security for the Cōḻas from their traditional dynastic rivals, the Pāṇḍyās. The Cōḻas lacked a standing army, though inscriptions refer to bands of armed men known as *Valaṅkai Vēlaikkārar niyāyam.* Nearly a century ago, the great pioneer of tamil epigraphy, V. Venkayya, published a list of nearly thirty such bands of armed men, which he regarded as 'regiments' of the Cōḻa army (*SII* II:9).

The use of the term *valaṅkai* in the inscriptions dealing with the groups of armed men is significant. A few of the groups mentioned are as follows:

Perundanāṭṭu-Valaṅkai-Veḷḷaikkārapaḍikaḷ

Sirudanāṭṭu-Valaṅkai-Veḷḷaikkārapaḍikal

Niṯṯavinōda-terinja-Valaṅkai-Veḷḷaikkārar

Rajavinoda-teriñja-Valaṅkai-Veḷḷaikkārar

From these names it appears that the armed men who constituted these groups belonged to the right hand division of the Tamil peasant society. This inference can be made on the ground that the groups describe themselves as *Valaṅkai.* The places from where the armed men hailed is explicitly mentioned. We have references to peasant localities such as *Perunta-nāṭu*, *Ciruta-nāṭu*, and *Niṯṭavinōda-nāṭu.* It is therefore quite likely that the armed men belonged to the dominant right hand peasantry of peasant localities (*nāṭu*). The Cōḻa kings by forging a network of subordinate alliances with peasant chieftains were able to call upon peasant groups of localities to join them in their militaristic ventures. We may therefore conclude that Cola alliance system had two basic results. First, it strengthened the political position of the Cōḻas. Second, the Cōḻa kings were able to utilize the support of right hand armed peasant groups for their wars of expansion.

II. The Decline of the Cōḻa State

The formation of warrior chiefdoms in the Tamil country was a long-term process which began in the late 13th century. With the

arrival of Vijayanagara warriors in the Tamil country in the middle of the 14th century, the political residue left behind by the break-up of the Cōḻa state coalesced around the nascent Vijayanagara state. The intervention of the Vijayanagara warriors in the politics of the Tamil country only exacerbated the pace and scope of political change, which was already underway in the region. The decline of Cōḻa hegemony during the course of the 13th century was accompanied by the dramatic assertion of political power by Tamil chieftains, whose families had possessed local power during the Cōḻa period, but had remained submerged under the ritual carapace of Cōḻa kingship. Locality chieftains who once ruled over the *nadu* units of the Cōḻa segmentary state detached themselves from the Cōḻa segmentary state, and found opportunities for themselves in the turbulent political atmosphere of the 13th century.

The political context of the century of Cōḻa decline was determined by two independent developments which took place outside of the Cōḻa country. The resurgence of Pāṇṭiyan power under Māṟavarman Cuntara Pāṇṭiya (A.D. 1216-1236) imposed severe military pressure on the southern frontier of the Cōḻa kingdom (Sastri 1975:213). The Pandyas were assisted by the forces of the kings of Sri Lanka (*ibid:*216). The combined attack of the Pandyas and the Simhalese forces against the Cōḻa state weakened the Cōḻa power considerably. The second development was the emergence of the Hoysalas of Karnataka as a major force in late Cōḻa politics. Cuntara Pāṇṭiya soundly defeated the Cōḻa king Rājarāja III in A.D. 1230, forcing the Cōḻa king to seek military and political support from the Hoysala king Vira Narasimha. The intervention of the Hoysalas in the politics of the Tamil country on behalf of the Cōḻa ruler Rājarāja III was a decisive event in medieval Tamil history, because after the decline of the Hoysalas in the early 14th century, the Sangama rulers of Vijayanagara continued the same policy of military and political intervention which culminated in the Tamil country becoming a part of the Vijayanagara empire.

In the immediate periphery of the Cōḻa country, the decline of the Cōḻa state in the 13th century resulted in the break-up of the intricate network of Cōḻa political and dynastic alliances. The increased scale of political violence, the emergence of Pandyan power, and the armed intervention of the Hoysalas on the side of the Cōḻas were merely symptoms of a decaying political order. In the dry zone between the Cōḻa country and Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam to the north, there arose three powerful warrior chiefdoms, which resulted in a total rupture of the political fabric of the Cōḻa state. These were the Sambūvarāyars of Paḍaviṭṭurājyam, the Kātavarāyars of Sendamangalam, and the Malaiyamāṉs of Kiliyūr. All these three chieftaincies were controlled by the Vanniyars, a left hand (*Iṭaṅkai*) group. The rise of left hand groups to political prominence reflects a major shift in the social structure of the Tamil country.

Left hand (*Iṭaṅkai*) peasant groups such as Vaṉṉiyars, Akampaṭiyar, Kaikkōḷars are mentioned prominently in early Vijayanagara inscriptions which suggests that the social and political changes of the late Cola period continued to influence developments during the succeeding

Vijayanagara period. Land holdings of Vanniyar elites known as *vanniyapparru* and *pallipparru* are referred to in early Vijayanagara inscriptions (*SII* XVII:714). The term *vanniyajivitikkārar* (*ARE* 1913:34, 1926:253, 1918:92) is found in Vijayanagara inscriptions, which suggests that Vanniyar elites occupied an influential place in the political and agrarian system of post-Cōla Tamil country. The peasant elites encountered by the Early Vijayanagara warrior chieftains rose to prominence in the late Cōla period, when left hand (*Iṭaṅkai*) controlled chiefdoms first arose. The traditional right hand or *valaṅkai* peasantry became increasingly anomolous in the turbulent, martial political climate of the 13th century.

The most durable segmentary center of the 13th and 14th centuries was the Campuvarāyar cheiftaincy at Pataivīttu rājyam. The inscriptional records of the Sambuvarayars are found scattered in Chingleput, North and South Arcot districts of present day Tamil Nadu, which suggests that these areas came under the sway of Campuvarāyar chieftains. The earliest reference to a sambuvarāyar occurs in a 12th century inscription of the Cōla king Vikrama Cōla (A.D. 1118), in which a Campurāyar chieftain figures as a signatory (*ARE* 1939:86). That this line of chieftains was once allied with the Cōlas is evident from a copper plate inscription from Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh which states that a Campuvarāyar chieftain accompanied the Cōla king Kulōttunkā I (A.D. 1070-1120) in his expedition against the rulers of Kalinga (*ARE* 1918:221). With the emergence of Pāṇṭiyan power in the 13th century, the Campuvarāyas who ruled over the peripheral parts of the Cōla kingdom shifted their allegiance to the Pāṇṭiyas. Burton Stein's conception of a segmentary state clearly recongizes this aspect of shifting allegiance: the more peripheral a subordinate authority is the more chance it has to change its a allegiance from one power pyramid to another. The shift of allegiance from the Cōlas to the Pāṇṭiyas is reflected in the names of Campuvarāyar chieftains. Kulacēkara and Cuntara-Pāṇṭiya., both names of Pandyan kings, were use by Campuvarāyars of the 13th century.

The Campuvarāyars belonged to the Vanniyar group of Tamil society, and their *kula* [family] was Sambhukula. In one Tamil epigraph, a Campuvarāyar bears the ***biruda*** [title] Vanniyanāyan, or chief of the Vanniyars (*SII* IV:849). The famous poem composed by the queen of the early Vijayanagara ruler Kumara Kampanā makes explicit reference to the pre-eminence of the Campuvarāyars amongst Vanniyar groups. Gaṅgādēvi writes in her *Madurāvijayam* that the father of Kampana gave the following advice to his son:

> "The Campuvarāyar is the leader of the Vanniyars. If you destroy him, you will succeed in cutting down the tree with several branches" (Krishnaswami 1964: 8).

The hegemony of the Campuvarāyars over northern Tamil country rested on the support extended by Vanniyar groups to the Sambuvarayars.

The Kāṭavarāya chieftains played a major role in the politics of the late Cōla period, and were the most relentless line of chiefs spawned by the decline of Cōla power. During the days of the Great Cōlas (A.D. 850-1170), the Kāṭavarāyars were kept in check by the Milātutaiyar

chief of Vānokoppāti nāṭu, with whom the Cōḻas had matrimonial linkages. Another important chieftaincy which kept the Kātavarāyars at bay was that of the Banas of Magadaimaṇḍalam. The early Kātavarāyar chieftain, Kulōttuṅkacōla-Kātavarāyan held *pādikāval* rights (a petty chiefdom) in the territory of the Bāṇas (*EI* XXVII : 81). During the reign of Kulōttuṅka II (A.D. 1070-1120) the Kātavarāyar chieftains had become powerful enough to form a subordinate dynastic alliance with the Colas. An inscription of Kulōtuṅka I found in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in present day Chingleput district states that the Cōḻa queen solansorudaiyal belonged to the Kātavarāyar family (*ARE* 1912: 111) The Tamil chronicle *Kaliṅkattupparani* which deals with the conquests of the Cōḻa king Kulōtuṅka I refers to a Kātavāraya chieftain, Karuṇākaraṉ, who is said to have achieved a military victory in Sri Lanka (Sastri 1975:376). In spite of their long established tradition of subordination to the Cōḻas, the Kātavarāyars during the reign of the late Cōḻa king Rājarāja III (A.D. 1163-1216) entered into a pact with the Pandyan king Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya and challenged Cōḻa power in its very heartland, the Kāvēri Delta.

The Kātavarāyar chieftains Kopperuñjiṅga I (A.D. 1211-1246) and his son Kopperuñjiṅga II (1243-1279), who are often referred to as the 'rebel chieftains' were primarily responsible for the political decline of the Cōḻas. In the year A.D. 1231, Kopperuñjiṅga I with military assistance from Sundara Pāṇḍya I invaded the Cōḻa heartland, forcing the Cōḻa king Rājarāja III to seek the intervention of the Hoysalas. In an inscription found in Cēntamaṅkaḻam in South Arcot district, the Kātavarāyar chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga is stated to have 'captured the Cōḻa emperor, destroyed the kingdom and temples sacred to Siva and Visnu' (*EI* VII: 168). The alliance between the Kadavarayars and the Pāṇḍyas was mutually beneficial. The Pandyas gained a valuable political ally in the very heartland of the Colas. The Kātavarāyas gain was legitimation of their kingly status by Sundara Pandya I. The Pandyan king boasts in an inscription that he performed the 'annointment of heroes' at Chidambaram, a town which was under the control of the Kadavaryars (*EI* XXVII: 93).

Like the Campuvarāyars, the Kadavarayars too were Vanniyar chieftains. In an early inscription, dated in the regnal era of the Cola king Kulottunga II, a Kadavarayar chieftain refers to himself as a Vaṉṉiyar (*SII* VII: 329). Another inscription states that the Kātavarāyars had close kin relations with the Chedirayar line of chiefs, who are known to have been Vanniyars (*SII* XII: 241). The view that Kātavarāyars belonged to the left hand (*Idankai*) Vaṉṉiyar community is accepted by scholars like M.S. Govindasamy and Somasundara Desikar.

The last of the major line of chieftains which emerged to prominence during the turbulent 13th century was that of the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs of Kilur in South Arcot district. This line of chiefs were powerful in the area known as Naṭuvil nāṭu, which lay immediately to the north of the Cola country. Malaiyamāṉ chieftains were integrated with the Cola system of dynastic alliances through the Banas, with whom they had kin connections (*ARE* 1914: 116). In the late Cola period, the Malaiyamāṉ chieftains, like the Campuvarāyars and the Kadvarayars, supported

the Pandyas against the Colas, as can be inferred from an inscription of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I dated A.D. 1236, which states that a Malaiyamā<u>n</u> chieftain, Bagavatialvan made a gift for the merit of a Pandyan king (*ARE* 1923:209). Other inscriptions suggest that this line of chiefs too were affiliated with the Vanniyar group (*ARE* 1921: 315, 1934:171).

Political integration among the three powerful chieftaincies was achieved through kin relations. The fact that the Campuvarāyar, Kātavarāyar, and Malaiyamā<u>n</u> chieftains were Va<u>n</u>niyars must have been an important factor in facilitating matrimonial relations. An inscription of a Campuvarāyar chieftain refers to a Kātavarāyar as his *makanar* or brother-in-law (*ARE* 1913:435). This reference enables us to surmise that both families were collateral branches of the same lineage. Another Campuvarāyar inscription records that Alakiya Siyan Campuvarāyar set up a metal image of a deity in the temple of Tirunagesvara, on behalf of the Kātavarāvar chieftain Kopperunjinga's mother. Another device used by Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains in order to fortify their political relations was through political compacts in which the Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains explicitly refer to the need for Va<u>n</u>niyar solidarity against the Cōlas and their Hoysala allies. We have in a Tamil inscription the phrase *va<u>n</u>niyar valattile nirkilum* which may be translated as 'the need for Va<u>n</u>niyar solidarity'. In the peripheral areas of the Cō<u>l</u>a country which had come under the sway of Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains are found inscriptions which record the ratification of alliances between different segments of Va<u>n</u>niyar lineages. From Madam, a township in present day North Arcot district, comes an inscription stating that two branches of the Va<u>n</u>niyar family of the Campuvarāyars were to unite against a Cō<u>l</u>a chieftain named Vikramacō<u>l</u>a (*ARE* 1919:252). Another 13th century inscription from Aragalur in South Arcot district records an argument (*mariyadai*) between the Bana chieftain Ponparappina Vanakovaraiyar and the Campuvarāyar chieftain. According to this inscription both chiefs agreed not to shelter their mutual enemies, and agreed to cooperate against common enemies (*ARE* 1913:435). Seventeen such inscriptions have been found so far in North and South Arcot districts. It may be concluded that horizontal alliances between Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains served to strengthen Va<u>n</u>niyar political power, and that matrimonial and kin relations cemented Va<u>n</u>niyars into a compact political block.

The visibility of Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains in the political landscape of the late Cō<u>l</u>a period is reflected in the titles (*birudas*) borne by them. Throughout the Cō<u>l</u>a period, the ritual primacy of the Cō<u>l</u>a king was expressed through the use of flamboyant titles and poetic descriptions of the kings' military prowess. The Cō<u>l</u>a kings claim in their inscriptions to have conquered the entire world, and their inscriptions composed by court poets incorporate virtually all the geographical knowledge then available to the Cō<u>l</u>a court. Burton Stein has observed that the poetic preamble (*meykrit[illegible]s*) appended to Cō<u>l</u>a stone [illegible] plate inscription were a [illegible] medium for the expression of [illegible] sacral kingship of the Cō<u>l</u>as. With the gradual erosion of the elan of Cō<u>l</u>a kingship in the thirteenth century, the Va<u>n</u>niyar rivals of the Cō<u>l</u>as began to emulate the royal style of the Imperial Cō<u>l</u>as in their inscriptions. Like the Cō<u>l</u>as, the Va<u>n</u>niyar chieftains too looked

toward the bardic compositions of the Classical period (c. 1st to 3rd century A.D.) of Tamil literature for inspiration. The metaphors employed in Vanniyar inscriptions extol the martial prowess of the chiefs.

Embedded in the inscriptions of the Vanniyar chieftains are metaphors extolling the military heroism of the chieftains. We have, for example, an inscription of the Kātavarāyar chieftain, Kopperunjinga from the famous Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in which the following *birutas* [titles] appear:

> One who had acquired endless fame, who was the one hero among warriors that was held in high esteem by all; (who was) a mighty thunderbolt to all heroes; who waged many wars and crushed his enemies on the battlefield (*EI* XXVII: 105).

This string of titles clearly reflects the importance placed on martial prowess by Vanniyar chieftains. We might add that the legitimacy of later Cōla warrior chieftains derived from their participation in wars against the later Cōlas. In a similar vein, the Campuvarāyars too dressed up their kingly image in the strident rhetoric of war and valour. The Sambuvarayar string of *birudas* include *tanininran* (*ARE* 1939: 181) 'one who conquered single handed', *senradisai-venran* (*ARE* 1939: 184). 'one who triumphed in all four directions', *palavayuda-vallavan* (*SII* I: 57) 'skilled in the use of weapons', and *venrumankondan* (*ARE* 1933: 59): 'conqueror of the earth'. Apart from the conscious emulation of the royal style of the Imperial Cōlas, the Vanniyar chieftains, like the Cōlas, were lavish patrons of temples. However, no inscription has been found to indicate Vanniyar patronage of the brahmana settlements, and the decline of *brahmadeyas* may have started as a result.

The rise of left hand *(Idankai)* chieftaincies did not leave the agrarian structure unaffected. The gradual erosion of the power and standing of right hand *(Valankai)* peasant groups began in the 13th century. The highly militarized nature of politics of that century contributed to the diminishment of the resources of *nattar* groups. We must now turn to the agrarian consequences of Vanniyar emergence.

III. The Vanniyars and the Agrarian Order: *The Periyanāṭu*

The emergence of Vanniyar chieftaincies in the late 13th century brought in its wake a train of changes in Cola agrarian arrangements. The Vanniyars were distributed over a large part of the dry interior of the Tamil country, an area which had formed part of the peripheral zone of the Cōla state. The territorial divisions of Jayankondasolamandalam and Naduvil *nāṭu* which covered the area of North and South Arcot districts of present day Tamil country, represented the sector of influence of Vanniyar peasant groups. Unlike the traditional Tamil group of dominant peasant (the *nattar*), who were, as Burton Stein has pointed out, a territorially segmented group, the Vanniyars by virtue of their wider distribution were able to transcend the spatially compressed, kin-oriented nature of *nattar* agrarian relations. The *nāṭu* territories, as pointed out in the introduction of this paper, were kin arenas and the right hand caste *nattars* maintained their local power by preserving the solidarity of peasant groups within their *nāṭus*. The rise of Vanniyars, however, shattered the corporate

solidarity of the *nattar* which led inevitably to the decline of the *nāṭu*. The decline of the *nadus* must be seen in the light of agrarian changes brought about by the advent of Vanniyars. The erosion of *nadu* as a peasant locality is reflected in the use of the term *parru* (literally: fraction). From the 13th century onwards the internal fragmentation of *nāṭu* is attested to by the fact that inscriptions invariably denote *parru* as a part of a *nāṭu*, signalling diminished importance of *nāṭus*.

The Vanniyars were originally a group of semi-peasant forest dwellers who inhabited the forested intersticies between the Cōḻa country and the Palar-Pennar river valley of Jayankondasolamandalam. Naṭuviḷ *nāṭu* was the name by which that tract was known by during the Cōḻa period. With the steady expansion of peasant agriculture from the riverine core areas into the forested territories, the hardy forest dwellers were integrated into the fold of Tamil society. In order to distinguish the newly incorporated people from the peasantry, the forest inhabitants were given the appellation of *itaṅkai*. In an inscription recording the origin myth of the vanniyars which is dated A.D. 1218, the Vanniyars are called *kadumakkal* or forest people (*ARE* 1913:86). A document from the Mackenzie Collection which pertains to the 'local history' of a tract known as Arkadu 'six forests' states that the Vanniyars were the descendants of Kurumbas.[2] As both the late Cōḻa inscription and the tradition preserved in the Mackenzie Collection refer to the same people and the same origin myth, it would be safe to conclude that Vanniyars originally belonged to the forest lands that abutted the Cōḻa country.

The assimilation of the Vanniyars into the *itaṅkai* division of Tamil society is elegantly recorded in a late Cōḻa inscription. Dated in the 40th year of the reign of Kulottunka III (1166-1216), this inscription refers to a Vanniyar lineage called *curutiman*. The origin myth of the Vanniyars is given as follows:

> In order to kill the demons which disturbed the sacrifices of Kasyapa (the priest of Visvakarma) we were made to appear from the akni kunṭa [sacrificial fire pit] and we were thus protecting the said sacrifice. Chakravarti Arindama honored the officiating sage priests by carrying them in a car and led them to the Brahmana colony (newly founded by *himself*). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the back of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually with these Brahmana sages we were made to settle down in the same villages. We received the clan name *itaṅkai* because the sages (while they got down from their cars) were supported by us on their left side. Our ancestors having lost their credentials and insignia in the forests, we were ignorant of our origin.

The inscription goes on to state that insignia of honour granted to them were: horn, bugle, and parasol. Burton Stein, on the basis of this *inscription* and others from South Arcot District, has suggested that forest people such as the Vanniyars were incorporated ritually into the framework of Tamil peasant society.

The earliest evidence of the acquisition of agrarian rights by Vanniyars comes from the fertile lower Kaveri valley. An inscription from Nerkulam dated A.D. 1231

states that a Vanniyar, Irunkolan of the Curitiman lineage, bought *kaniyatchi* rights from the dominant peasants *(nattar)* of the village *(ARE* 1912: 500). In the following year, A.D. 1232, one of the dominant peasants of the village, a *nattavar* belonging to the chiefly family of Muttaraiyars, sold his *kaniyatchi* rights to a Vanniyar called Coran Kontan *(ARE* 1912: 493). The same year four Vanniyars of the village transferred their *kaniyatchi* rights to Irunkotan who is mentioned in an earlier inscription *(ARE* 1912:497). The consolidation of Vanniyar hegemony over the agrarian order of the lower Kavery valley is indicated in a few inscriptions. A lengthy inscription from Valikanṭapuram in the deltaic region reveals the interesting fact that a Vanniyar by the name of Vannattutaiyan was the *nattutaiyan* of the *nadu (ARE* 1912:499). The subordination of the right hand division *nattavar* to the newly emergent Vanniyar elites is strikingly demonstrated by an inscription from Aduturai *(ARE* 1913:35). This inscription states that in recognition of the valour displayed by Vanniyars during the turbulent period of Hoysala intervention *(periya vadukan kalam)* in recovering certain temple images looted by the Hoysalas from the Siva temple, the *nattavar* bestowed upon the Vanniyars the title of *pannattan tambiran* [protector of the *nāṭu*]. Further, the Vanniyars were accorded the singular honor of wearing the silk vestments of the deity *(pattuparivattam)*. The acquisition of *kaniyatchi* rights in peasant settlements by Vanniyars contributed to the erosion of the *nattar* as a dominant peasant group, and this process continued into the Vijayanagara period.

The advent of Vanniyars as prime land controlling groups caused considerable friction between Vanniyar groups and Tamil peasant groups. Inscriptions from the lower Kaveri reflect the inevitable tensions created by the eruption of Vanniyar hegemony. An inscription of the 13th century provides some insight into the response of the *nattar* to Vanniyar hegemony. The inscription records, "the *kani* [a land right] of the *nāṭu* should not be claimed by anyone, unless one is the *kani* holder from olden times, and even if he says that he is a *iracukulavar* [a Vanniyar], or that he comes from the southern bank of the Kollidam River, or that he bought the land in a government auction *(rajarajaperuvilai)* or from the cultivators" *(ARE* 1926: 259). This inscription suggests that the *nattar*, threatened by the Vanniyars at the locality level, sought to preserve their land rights by tying *kani* right to ancient links with the soil. Further, they refused to recognize sale of land to outsiders. Vanniyar diaspora over the Tamil agrarian landscape seems to have provoked the *nattar* of peasant localities to assert their solidarity.

The *chittrameleppperiyanātu* was an institution that facilitated the agrarian integration of Vanniyar land holdings. The link between Vanniyars and the *periyanāṭu* institution has not been noticed by historians so far. Political integration amongst Vanniyar chieftaincies was achieved, as observed in an earlier section of this paper, through a network of horizontal political alliances and compacts. Vertical integration of Vanniyar agrarian holdings was achieved through the institution of the *periyanāṭu*. Chronologically the *chitramelipperiyanadu* had its heyday in the turbulent 13th century, which was dominated by powerful Vanniyar

chieftains. An inscription from the Kaveri region dated A.D. 1227 explicitly refers to a Vanniyar lineage--Malaiyamān--as *chitramelipperiyanattar*. The Malaiyamāns belonged to the Vanniyar community, and hence *this reference to the periyanāṭu* is significant (*ARE* 1943: 276). In an inscription from South Arcot district, a Vanniyar community--Nattaman--is stated to have formed part of the *chitramelipperiyanāṭu* institution (*ARE* 1940: 184). Another inscription reveals that the *anchunattar*, a term often used in Tamil inscriptions to refer to left hand (*itankai*) groups, were constituents of the *chitramelipperiyanāṭu* (*ARE* 1912: 489). A piece of evidence that ties the Vanniyars with the *periyanāṭu* comes from the laudatory preamble of a *periyanatu* inscription. This inscription from Tirukovilur in South Arcot district informs us that the *periyanattar* had the *biruṭa* [title] of *pumipputran* (*SII* VII: 129). The same *biruta* was often used by Vanniyar chiefs. From the foregoing pieces of evidence *it may be concluded* that the *periyanāṭu* and its leaders the *periyanattar* were none other than Vanniyar elites.

The term *chitramelipperiyanāṭu* literally means "the Great Assembly of the beautiful plow". As an agrarian body, the *periyanāṭu* institution was primarily *concerned with land* management. From a study of the epigraphs dealing with the *periyanadu* it is possible to grasp the extensive catchment area of this land controlling body. A South Arcot inscription recording the endowments of the *periyanāṭu* to a local temple mentions in passing that the lands controlled by the *periyanattar were distributed* over 79 peasant localities (*SII* VII: 129). A 1239 A.D. inscription from Mannargudi which was located in the Cōla country states that the *periyanāṭu* controlled five peasant localities (*nāṭu*) in the deltaic region (*SII* VI: 50). Another inscription from around the same area suggests that the *periyanadu* had acquired lands in twelve *nadus in the vicinity* of Tiruppattur. Most of the epigraphs of the *periyanāṭu* are donative records and they indicate the extensive reach of this agrarian body.

The impact of the Vanniyar chieftains and their peasant allies on the Tamil agrarian system was twofold: Firstly, it resulted in the emergence of a ruling strata which was *distinct from the traditional* right hand peasant groups. The *periyanāṭu* continued to remain powerful until the late 14th century. With the consolidation of Vijayanagara power in the region, however, this institution faded away. Secondly, the *periyanattar* due to their support of the Vanniyar chieftains played the role of kingmakers in late Cōla politics. It has been surmised by *Nilakanta Sastri and T.N. Subramanian* that the *periyanāṭu* intervened on behalf of the Cola king Kulōttunka III (A.D. 1163-1216) in the struggle that ensued for the throne after the death of Rājatirāja III in A.D. 1162 (*ARE* 1932: 194).

The Vijayanagara period witnessed *the integration of the powerful level* of Vanniyar agrarian and political elites with the warrior provided by such left hand (*itankai*) groups as the *periyanattar*, the Vanniyars, fragments of the alliance networks of Vanniyar chieftains and merchant communities.

IV. The Establishment of the Vijayanagara State

The emergence of left hand

peasant groups like the Vanniyars and the formation of impressive chieftaincies controlled by Vanniyars were symptomatic of a changed political system, one in which warrior chieftains played crucial roles. From the middle of the 14th century the political processes which underpinned the formation of warrior chiefdoms in the Tamil country was further strengthened by the intervention of the Karnataka based state of Vijayanagara. We have already seen that as early as the reign of Rajaraja II, the Karnataka dynasty of the Hoysalas had established an impressive political and military presence in the Tamil reign. The Hoysala power declined in the early 14th century after a series of raids into Hoysala territory by Malik Kafur (A.D. 1309) and Ulugh Khan (A.D. 1311), the generals of Allauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi. The state of Vijayanagara came into being in the chaos that followed the end of Hoysala regime in A.D. 1336. Vijayanagara remained the ritual center of the South Indian polity for nearly two centuries until A.D. 1565.

Historians have analyzed the expansion of the Vijayanagara state from its royal core in the Tungabhadra valley into the Tamil country in terms of its potent religious ruling ideology. As such, historians have seen Vijayanagara expansion as a Hindu reaction to the challenge of Islam. John Fritz and George Mitchell in a recent paper have also argued that the expansionist vigor of the new political power was fuelled by a Hinduistic ruling political ideology (Fritz *et.al.* 1984). This line of argument, however, tends to obscure the deep-seated antagonisms between various branches of the royal family which ruled over the erstwhile domain of the Hoysalas. It may be persuasively argued that the impetus for the outward expansion of Vijayanagara power from its royal core area was generated by the tensions within the ruling circles. In seeking a historical explanation for the emergence of post-Cola warrior chiefdoms, attention must be directed toward (a) the political situation within the Tamil country, and (b) the dynastic and royal politics of the early Vijayanagara rulers. The first aspect has been analyzed in the preceding sections. It is to the second aspect that we must now turn towards. Marshall Sahlins' (1967: 89-128) concept of "predatory expansion" which addresses the question of segmentary state formations is particularly germane to this study.

Marshall Sahlins' concept of "predatory expansion" is derived from an empirical study of segmentary state systems which are both fragile and dynamic. His concept is applicable to political systems that come into being as a result of either territorial expansion or segmentation of royal lineages. He argues that in the course of territorial expansion, the dominant lineage segments itself into subordinate royal lineages. He writes: "A political system is a system of local segmentation. That is segments within the same exclusive body are contiguous" (Sahlins 1967: 102). In a political structure thus characterized, Sahlins argues that, "higher political levels are at the same time higher lineage levels" (*ibid:* 109). According to the Sahlins' typology of predatory expansion, the driving force behind state formation lies in the internal pressures within the dominant lineage which results in an explosive outward thrust of political expansion. Applying this formulation to study Vijayanagara state

formation would involve two fundamental issues: genealogical cleavages within the ruling family and territorial base of subordinate lineages. Burton Stein's conception of a South Indian segmentary state is further enriched when the political processes underpinning Vijayanagara state formation in the Tamil country is analyzed in the light of Sahlins' notion of "predatory expansion".

The segmentary nature of the Vijayanagara state was due to the fact that the state was not created by one founding figure, but five. The credit for establishing the early royal city of Vijayanagara was shared by five brothers, all of whom claimed descent from Sangama I. The five brothers were: Harihara I (A.D. 1336-1357), Kampana I (dates unknown), Bukka I (1344-1377), Marappa and Muddappa (dates unknown). Of these five brothers, only Kampana I and Bukka I were progenitors of royal families. During the second generation, Vijayanagara Kingship was institutionalized in the male line which had descended from Bukka I. Royal parallel cousins were thereby excluded from the circle of Princes with legitimate claims on the throne. This shift took place during the reign of Harihara II, the son of Bukka I, who ruled from A.D. 1377 until 1404. The change did not lead to dynastic stability, as there were in different parts of the South Indian macro-region, parallel cadet lines and collatteral branches of the Sangama family. The plethora of royal claimants to the throne, accounts for the intensively competitive nature of royal Vijayanagara politics; inter-dynastic competition and rivalry was often resolved through palace coups and assassinations. The Byzantine world of intrigue, murder and depravity fare favourably in comparison with the Vijayanagara world. For example, in the history of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara alone four palace coups and five assassinations took place within a period of a century and a quarter (A.D. 1350-1489). One method by which the rulers of Vijayanagara sought to reduce the pressure at the center was through the recognition of the domains ruled by royal kinsmen of the Vijayanagara rulers as fully constituted *rajyam* or kingdom; a reduced version of the Vijayanagara state. This strategy, adopted as it was in order to reduce the pressure from peripheral units of the political system, led to the emergence of a multi-centric polity.

The early Vijayanagara state was a composite polity, consisting of principalities and domains that had once been ruled by the Hoysalas of Karnataka. The epigrapher and historian, H.Krishnasastri (1919: 235-54), argued that the early Sangama kings, Harihara I and Bukka I, were chieftains who owed allegiance to the Hoysala king, Ballala III (A.D. 1291-1342). He postulates that with the transfer of the Hoysala capital from Halebid to Tiruvannamalai in the Tamil country, the bonds of ritual allegiance that tied Harihara I and his brother Bukka I to the Hoysala dynastic state became weak, and after the death of Ballala III in A.D. 1342, they transformed themselves into independent kings. Krishna Sastri has, however, failed to notice the dynastic alliance between the Hoysalas and the early Caṅkama rulers. An inscription found in the famous Saivite center, Sringeri (*EC* VI Sringeri) in Karnataka, alludes to a dynastic connection between the Hoysalas and the Caṅkama family. The inscription records the marriage between Ballappa-Dannayakar, the son and successor of Ballala III, the Hoysala king and the only daughter of Harihara I. This alliance was

of great importance for two reasons. In the first place, this alliance accorded a sense of legitimacy to the early rulers of Vijayanagara. Secondly, the matrimonial alliance between the now moribund Hoysala dynasty and the rising Cańkama house, elevated the status of Harihara I, as he could not claim an exalted dynastic linkage. It might even be said that it was due to this alliance that Vijayanagara rulers continued to assert themselves as continuations of Hoysala kingship.

Lack of inscriptional data does not permit a comprehensive reconstruction of the political history of the early Vijayanagara state. Inscriptions refer to four *rajyams* [kingdoms], each of which was ruled by one or the other of the founding brothers of Vijayanagara. Collectively the four *rajyams* constituted the Vijayanagara state. The four kingdoms were: Udayagiri *rajyam*, Male *rajyam*, Tulu *rajyam*, and Hoysala *rajyam* (Sastri 1919: 237). That all five brothers were regarded as equals is evident from an inscription which records a joint gift *(dana)* by all of them to the Saivite sectarian institution at Sringeri (Sastri 1975: 241). This inscription provides direct support to the hypothesis that until the middle of the 14th century (the inscription is dated A.D. 1347), the family of Bukka I had not acquired ascendency over the collateral branches of the Cańkama house. Another indicator of the equal ritual status of all five branches of the family is found in the *birutas* [titles] borne by their heads (Sastri 1919: 239). Bukka I, the ruler of the royal city of Vijayanagara and Hoysala-*rajyam*, was referred to as 'Lord of the Western Sea'. Kampana I, the ruler of Udayagiri-*rajyam* which covered the present Nellore district, was called 'Lord of the Eastern Sea'. Harihara I, the ruler of the Devagiri kingdom of the Devunar, adopted the title 'Lord of the Southern Sea'. The remaining two, Marappa and Muddappa, the rulers of Tulu-*rajyam* which covered the coastal region of Karnataka, bore the title 'Lords of the Western Sea'. All five founding brothers called themselves *makamantalesvara* of their kingdoms. Robert Sewell in his masterpiece *A Forgotten Empire* (p.25) drew attention to the political significance of the title *makamantalesvara*. He pointed out that the title which means Great Lord, signified that the early rulers did not see themselves as kings, but only as chieftains.

The expansion of Vijayanagara hegemony into the Tamil country began within a mere decade of the emergence of Cańkama kingship. In order to understand the nature of Vijayanagara expansion, it is necessary to evaluate the underlying tensions within the political system that generated the impulse toward the Tamil country. Genealogical cleavages within the ruling family provided the momentum.

To the immediate north of the Tamil region, known in medieval times as Jayankondasolamandalam, was the domain of a rival branch of the Sangama family. The tract was called Udayagiri-*rajyam*, and it covered much of what is today the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh. Kampana I, a son of Cańkama I, was the ruler of Udayagiri. Though Kampana I and his lineage did not play a major role in the latter history of Vijayanagara, it would be dangerous to dismiss the short-lived existence of this lineage as inconsequential. The geographical location of the Kampana I lineage was significant: it commanded the terrain to the north of the Vanniyar chiefdom of

the Campuvarāyars, and was therefore eminently situated to expand into the Tamil country. Acquisition of the Tamil country would have at once transformed a precariously located chiefdom into an impressive kingdom, making Udayagiri, not the royal city of Vijayanagara, the focal point of the political system. Seen in the light of these factors, the thrust into the Tamil country by Bukka I must be viewed as a statist strategy to thwart the dynastic and political ambitions of Kampana I and his family.

The family of Kampana I is known to history from a solitary copper plate inscription, the Bitragunta Copper Plate Inscription of Caṅkama II (*EI* III: 21-5). This epigraph was issued in A.D. 1355 by Sangama II, the son of Kampana I. The epigraphist, Krishna Sastri who edited the record, has drawn attention to a peculiar feature of the inscription: all five founding brothers of the Vijayanagara state are referred to as equals. The equality of the five siblings is underscored by the use of the phrase 'each ruled the earth'. To this date, this inscription is the only one in which all five brothers are found mentioned. In all other Vijayanagara inscriptions are mentioned what epigraphers have termed 'the regular genealogy of the Caṅkama dynasty'. Harihara I and Bukka I are regularly mentioned in Caṅkama copper plates, and the other three are ignored, suggesting a deliberate attempt to relegate the other three founders to oblivion. The fact that Kampana I was, in his own right, the progenitor of a royal line, co-equal with Harihara I and Bukka I, and a rival of the family of Bukka I, lay at the root of the studied silence in latter Caṅkama records. Dynastic rivalry between Bukka I's lineage and Kampana I's lineage is suggested by the fact that the donor, Sangama II, the son and successor of Kampana I, represents his father as the successor of Harihara I, though at that time Bukka I was the ruler of Vijayanagara. The hint of dynastic rivalry is given in the eulogistic preamble (*EI* III: 21-35).

> King Harihara--by whom the Suratrana [ruler], who resembled the god Indra, was defeated--ruled the earth for a long time (verse 5)
>
> His younger brother, Kampana whose name became true to its meaning, as he made enemies tremble, ruled the earth for a long time (after the death of Harihara). (verse 6)

From the two verses of the inscription cited above we can infer that Caṅkama II, the successor of Kampana I, regarded himself as an independent king, and that he did not accept the ritual primacy of Bukka I, the ruler of Vijayanagara. The epigrapher, Kṛishna Sastri, has correctly observed that, 'the fact that he represents his own father Kampana as the actual successor of Harihara I, (also) suggests that he considered himself independent of Bukka I' (*EI* III: 24).

The earliest inroads of the Caṅkama state of Vijayanagara into the Tamil country began around the 1350's, when there existed in Udayagiri *rajyam* a parallel branch of the royal caṅkama family. Padavittu *rajyam*, the Vanniyar chieftaincy, lay to the immediate south of Udayagiri. The close proximity of the two states, made the Tamil country an attractive area into which to expand for the Kampana I lineage. Inscriptions found in the Tamil country

testify to the expansion of the Kampana I lineage into the Campuvarāyar controlled tract. Fifteen inscriptions have been discovered in northern Tamil country which refer themselves to the reign of Savana Udaiyar, the son of Kampana I. Savana Udaiyar, the son of Kampana I, was therefore the nephew of Bukka I, the ruler of Vijayanagara (Aizer 1936: 171). Bukka I, anxious to exclude Kampana I from the Tamil country, deputed his son Kumara Kampana to act on his behalf in the Tamil country. Kumara Kampana and Savana Udaiyar were parallel cousins in that both had the same paternal grandparent, Caṅkamı I.

Savana Udaiyar came to the throne of Udayagiri in the year A.D. 1343. The earliest inscription of Savana in the Tamil country is dated in his fourth regnal year, a date that corresponds to A.D. 1347. From that inscription we infer that he came to power in 1343 (*ARE* 1915:143). The last known date for the reign of Savana is 1351. In two of his inscriptions, Savana Udaiyar bear the *biruta* [title] 'Lord of the Eastern Sea'; (*ARE* 1906: 500, 1906: 503) the same title was borne by Kampana I. His inscriptions are found distributed in the eastern part of the Campuvarāyar territory, a tract in which Kumara Kampana's inscriptions appear only after the disappearance of Savana Udaiyar. Tiruppalaivanam, (*ARE* 1929: 357) Tiruvorriur, (*ARE* 1912: 213) Neyyadippakkam, (*ARE* 1901: 213) and Kalahasti (*ARE* 1903: 188) are the major find spots of the inscriptions of Savana Udaiyar. Unlike Kumara Kampanas, whose politics in the Tamil country was predicated on the Vijayanagara political theory that the Sangama State was a gatherer of Hindu kingdoms and restorer and protector of Hindu temples, Savana Udaiyar does not seem to have possessed or developed an explicit ground on which to stake his legitimacy. Further, Savana Udaiyar seems to have faced considerable resistance from the Vaṉṉiyar peasant elites to his rule in the Tamil country. In an inscription engraved on the walls of the Tiruvorriur temple we get a tantalizing glimpse of Vaṉṉiyar resistance. The epigraph states that the agambadiyars (a Vaṉṉiyar group) refused to cooperate with Savana Udaiyar, and hence 48 of them, including the chieftain of the *nāṭu*, Padakurkilar, were deprived of their land (*kani nilam*) (*ARE* 1912: 240). Inscriptions of Kumara Kampana deprecate the reign of Savana Udaiyar, a clear sign of political tension. The brief period of Savana Udaiyar's intervention in the Tamil country is referred to as a period of anarchy (*kalabai*) in Kumara Kampana inscriptions (*ARE* 1955: 276). Further, in one inscription, Savana Udaiyar is even accused of desecrating Hindu temples. The inscription was issued by Kumara Kampana, and it states that the images of the *rayanamars* [Saivite saints] in the Tirukkaresvara temple were desecrated by Savana Udaiyar. It goes on to record the installation of new images by Kumara Kampana. This inscription reveals the deep tensions that existed between Savana Udaiyar and Kumara Kampana (*ARE* 1921: 110).

Unlike Savana Udaiyar and Kumara Kampana I lineage, Kumara Kampana of the Bukka I lineage was successful in his bid to establish Vijayanagara hegemony in the Tamil country. Arjun Appadurai has convincingly argued that the main reason for the success of Kumara Kampana lay in his astute use of religious symbols and a religious idiom in order to win legitimacy for the Sangama state of Vijayanagara (Appadurai 1977: 47-74). He has argued that

Kumara Kampana was able to consolidate Vijayanagara authority in the Tamil country by cultivating linkages with Sri Vaisnava sectarian leaders and institutions. Hindu temples and religious institutions came under the authority of Kumara Kampana, who utilized his power as the chief donor and protector of temples in order to penetrate local agrarian regimes. Gradually, Tamil religious institutions were tranformed into political institutions for the support of Vijayanagara kingship.

V. Conclusion

In this paper we have argued that the foundation of the Vijayanagara state were laid during the closing years of the Cōḻa period. During that time, Vanniyar dominated agrarian institutions emerged which provided an integration armature for left hand peasant groups. The rise of powerful Vaṉṉiyar chiefdoms such as those of the Campuvarāyars and the Kātavarāyars resulted in the erosion of the Cōḻa system of subordinate alliances. With the gradual decline of Cōḻa political influence, the Karnataka based Hoysalas were forced to intervene in Tamil politics in order to check the expansionist ambitions of the Pāṇṭyas. In a long term study of late medieval politics of the Tamil country, note must be taken of the fragmentation of political power as a consequence of the decline of the Cōla state. Right hand Tamil peasant groups such as the *nattavar* and *the uravar* too declined during this period, and these groups yielded their place to the left hand Vaṉṉiyar peasantry.

The fragmentation of political power had a two-fold significance. Firstly, it created a political vaccum into which the Vijayanagara state, based in the Tungabhadra region, was drawn. Secondly, the elites that emerged during the waning years of the Cola period merged with the political elite of the Vijayanagara state. The Vaṉṉiyars, continued to remain influential in the 15th century as well. Thus, the political and agrarian changes of the late Cōḻa period represent major structural changes in South Indian state system.

Apart from the structural changes in the Tamil country, we have also indicated the tensions within the royal lineages of the Vijayanagara state. We have argued that the outward expansion of the Vijayanagara state from its heartland in the Tungabhadra region was due to the presence of a strong rival lineage in the territory to the north of the Tamil country. Segmentation of the royal Sangama lineage into two hostile, competitive branches, resulted in tensions, which were ultimately resolved by the incorporation of the Tamil country into the Vijayanagara state, which was controlled by the Bukka I lineage. We can say that the Vijayanagara state was segmented vertically, as opposed to the horizontal segmentation of the Cōḻa state.

This paper has presented a revisionistic interpretation of the early Vijayanagara state. Instead of viewing the emergence of the Vijayanagara state as a Hindu reaction to Muslim threats, we have shown that dynastic tensions and structural changes within Tamil society provide a sounder historical explanation.

NOTES

1. The discussion presented in this paragraph and the two subsequent

paragraphs are based on Burton Stein's *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi, 1980).

2. See document entitled 'Arcot: History and Etymology' of the Mackenzie Collection, file N. 3076, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

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THE CHINA TOWER AT NAGAPPATTINAM

M. Abdul Rahim

An ancient tower of three storeys called Puduveli *gopuram* and China (Jina ?) *gopuram* at Nagappattinam was pulled down by the Jesuits of St. Josephs College in 1867.[1] The origin and purpose of the tower is not definitely known. In 1846 when Sir Walter Elliot visited the tower it was "a somewhat four-sided tower of three storeys constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second storeys divided by corniced mouldings with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest storey were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground storey was worn at the angles from collision with passerby and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible". When the Nawab of Carnatic visited Nagappattinam a little earlier it was "a high *gopuram*, but not kept in good repair in many places" (Nainar n.d.:p. 34). This *gopuram* was for a long time a land mark for vessels approaching Nagappattinam roadstead. Speaking about the French capture of Madras and the destruction of places around Nagappattinam and consequent fleeing of merchants to other places Anandarangam Pillai, the famous Diarist writes "They are like people on the outlook for ships from the tower of Puduveli temple". (Vol. V: 29).

After the demolition of the tower, when the Jesuits were excavating the site, they came across a bronze statue of Buddhist or Jina priest with inscriptions in Tamil characters of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Commenting on it Sir Walter Elliot says "It can hardly be doubted that the statuette is connected with the character of the building and the purpose for which it was erected. Now the general aspect of the figure, the loose mantle, the conical head ornament, the pierced and elongated ear lobes savour strongly of a Buddhist or Jina origin which would imply a corresponding relation between the structure and that faith. Granting this it may be set down as a *vihara* or as a memorial of some holy man" (IA, VII: 226). When Lord Napier visited Nagappattinam the missionaries presented him with the bronze image. In an article of the first volume of Athene oriental (Paris 1871) Foucaux says "Not far from the tower is an old Mohwa or iluppai tree (Bassialatefolia) the diameter of which above the root is more than a metre -- indicating according to the usual growth of the tree an age of 700 to 800 years. In March 1856 the missionaries having cut it down for the requirement of their

work of construction discovered five small Buddhist idols at the depth of somewhat more than a metre below the surface. From the position in which they were found they appear to have been concealed with a view of being again used in religious worship for they were carefully placed in a chamber under a covering of bricks arranged for their protection. Four of the idols are of bronze, the fifth of a mixture of porcelain and clay of exquisite workmanship".[2]

The Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited South India in the thirteenth century and describes a *stupa* in the flat land of Patan (Nagappattinam) (Cordier 1920:114). "There is a *stupa* of earth and brick many feet high. It bears the following Chinese inscription "the work was finished in the 8th noon of the third year Lueim Chwen (1267)". It is related that these characters have been engraved by some Chinese in imitation of inscriptions on stone of these countries. Up to the present time they have not been destroyed".[3] One is tempted to believe that the *stupa* that Marco Polo is describing is nothing but the Puduveli *gopuram* or Jina tower.

When Nieuhoff visited Nagappattinam in 1661 the tower was intact: "Not far from the city is a pagoda with a stone steeple called Tzina, the pinnacle of which reached to the very cloud, the inhabitants believe that it was built by the devil and that in one night".[4] The statement of Nieuhoff is endorsed by Baldaeus.[5] The tower suffered great damage during the great storm of 1681. "On 10th November 1681 there was a great storm in Porto Novo. Tranquebar and Negapatam. For these days at Negapatam the storm swept with much greater force. In Negapatam more than 2000 persons put themselves into a pagoda and the pagoda fell and killed all of them. On the sea side the fisherman retired into one which was the highest and the wind carried it away and they died" (Pringle 1681:52). During the Dutch rule of this place the pagoda suffered some destruction. Manucci says "Louvenco Piter who at that time was Governor of Negapatam and of all the Coromandel coast ordered this pagoda to be destroyed and he converted it to a battery on which he mounted eight pieces of artillery. More than half the pagoda was knocked down after the greatest exertions. They discovered in the pagoda between the walls many images of a metal which looked like gold and upto this day no one knows of what kind this metal is. The images were Chinese".[6] The fact that part of the tower was pulled down with the 'greatest exertion' shows that it must have been a very strong structure. In fact it was a 'stable structure' even as late as the latter half of the nineteenth century as seen above.

Minakshi identifies the pagoda with the temple built by the Pallava king Rajasimha for the worship of the Buddhists landing in Nagappattinam from China. She is of the opinion that the *vihara* was entirely different from the two temples of the Buddha constructed during the Chola period in the eleventh century at Nagappattinam (Minakshi 1979:94-96). But T.N. Ramachandran (1965:14) is of the view that the "China pagoda pulled down in 1867 evidently represents one of the temples (Rajaraja perumpalli and Rajendrachola perumpalli). Such storeyed buildings being unknown in South India while they prevail in a large measure in Java and in the other isles of the archipelago,

it may be persumed that it derived its architecture from either a Sumatran or Javanese temple and was probably the one built by the Sailendra Mana Vijayottunga as the chapel of the Chudamanivihara".[7] But Sir Walter Elliot and Yule are of the opinion that the pagoda was of Chinese origin (Yule:336) Dr. Caldwell suggests that it might have been of Jain origin. He writes to Yule "It bore also the name of the tower of Malla. The Chalukya Malla kings were at one time Jains. The seven pagodas near Madras bear their name Mamallapuram and their power may at one time have extended as far south as Negapatam" *(Ibid)*. This appears to be a farfetched statement. The view that it was a tower of Jaina faith can easily be rejected by the fact that Nagappattinam was known all along as the seat of Buddhist faith.

NOTES

1. Madras G.O. Pub. No.922, 923 dated 19th August 1899. St. Joseph's College was established at Nagappattinam in 1846 by the Jesuits in charge of the Madura Mission. (In colonial records Negapatam is used instead of Nagappattinam).

2. As quoted by Sir Walter Elliot in *IA*, Vol.VII, p.226. In 1928, 59 bronze Buddhist images were unearthed in the *maidan* before the Nagappattinam court, just at the site where the tower existed -- *Annual Report of the Archaeological survey of India*, 1927-28, p.149.

3. The Chinese inscriptions would have faded away by the time, Sir Walter Elliot visited the tower in 1846.

4. Nieuhoff, A Collection of voyages and travels, London Vol.II, p.213. Gasparo Balbi who visited South India in the sixteenth century also calls it the Sette Pagodi de' Chini and attributes it to the Chinese mariners (Cathey and the way thither, Second Edition, Vol.I Series II, p.81).

5. "Without the gates on the northern side of the city stands a very lofty pagoda called *China* near which is a summer seat with very pleasant garden and orchards" (Baldaeus Vol.III, p.651). The tower had been surrounded by a thick grove for a long time (Jhon Fryer, A new account of the East India and Persia, Hokluyt Society). The grove remained so even during the early period of the British and was called the China garden (Military Sundries, Vol. 30, p.68). The passengers reaching Negapatam used the grove as a resting place (Storia do Mogor, Vol.IV, p.165).

6. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.I, p.154. Mannucci also calls the tower the 'China pagoda' (Storia do Mogor, Vol.IV, p.165).

7. This view is supported by the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28, p.149.

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